NEW TIMES

A Soviet brick in the Berlin Wall

October 15-21, 1991

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A SOVIET WEEKLY

NEW TIMES

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From our mailbag

■ I cannot say anything about other people's reactions, but I felt terrible when I read Lev Razgon's articles "Captive in one's own country" (NT Nos.31-34, 1991). I can hardly believe that such lawlessness could exist in my, in our, first socialist state in the world, but to our shame and disgrace it did exist, and millions of our countrymen were ground by the ruthless millstones of the criminal totalitarian system and turned into labor camp dust. Some people so ruthlessly dealt with others. What horrible lessons do we have yet to learn to prevent the repetition of this tragedy in this country? I suggest that Lubyanka be freed from the KGB and turned into a museum of Bolshevist inquisition, so that instead of visiting the Lenin Mausoleum people will go to this museum, be horrified, feel compassion for the victims of totalitarianism and be morally purified. Perhaps this, in addition to other measures, will help raise out moral level at least a little bit.

A. Anuchkin-Timofeyev
Moscow, USSR

■ Your magazine carried the article "The man who knows the truth about Katyn." The article tells of a retired Major General P.Soprunenko, former head of the NKVD Directorate for the Affairs of War Prisoners (No. 17/91). The author claims that in April 1940 the NKVD carried out mass executions of the Poles in the Katyn forest, near Kalinin and in the suburbs of Kharkov. At the same time, the *Military-historical magazine* and some other editions say that Polish prisoners-of-war were shot by the Germans under the leadership of the main ideologist of racism Goebbels. Where is the truth? Numerous visitors to our museum ask me about this, while I readdress this question to you. Let *New Times* answer it.

Yefim Zagrivny, in charge of the Novgorod-Volynsky popular museum of soldiers' glory
Zhitomir Region, USSR

From the editors: We are going to return to this theme in the forthcoming issues of our magazine. We hope that new facts will dispel the doubts of our readers.

■ Only a total fool would not notice that the Soviet press has of late changed its attitude towards emigration. *New Times*, too, carries articles by human rights activist K.Lyubarsky. I wouldn't say that his opinion on many subjects is not worth heeding. But this time K.Lyubarsky decided to prove to Soviet readers, especially young people, that they mustn't read Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* because it is bad for them (N52/90). At the same time it turns out that Lyubarsky bought the book a long time ago, keeps it in library at home and reads it. And it has done him no harm. He feels perfectly all right and is teaching us, little idiots, from "there," that Hitler's book is bad for us. When I read this I felt like exclaiming: "God save me from such a censor who does not wish others to have what he has himself." Nothing should be kept secret in history, especially negative things. This is disastrous for people. Thank God history exists according to its own rules. And things which were kept secret yesterday will be revealed sooner or later.

I. Zaitsev,
Minsk Region, USSR

■ I became your reader not so long ago, but I realized at once that your magazine is anti-communist and does not try to conceal it. It is already a fact that communist construction in this country has failed (you may congratulate yourselves on this). Only do you think that anything has turned and will be

Down with emotions!

■ In the article "A land that triumphed over socialism" (NT No.35) Simon Soloveichik (perhaps quite unwillingly) compares the organizers of the recent coup with the Decembrists, and the democrats with tsar Nicholas I which is tactless towards both. (As far as Nicholas I is concerned I'd rather recall the words of the Russian poet Tyutchev who said: "You served neither the Lord nor Russia, but only your own vanity.") The author turns out to be very cruel, if not blood-thirsty (which is very strange to see in the author of the *Junior World*). He calls for a death sentence not only to the organizers of the coup but also Kravchenko, the former head of the Soviet TV and Radio Network. However, the civilized nations are gradually abolishing death penalty. (But maybe this is just a nice little joke on his part?) Soloveichik expresses his utter admiration for Yeltsin: "Yeltsin was up to the mark all along – not a single wrong word or deed." If we continue moving along this path we'll soon have a new personality cult. Especially since apparently there were things that could be criticized, for instance, banning of newspapers or the statement addressed to the repulbics on the possible revision of borders (though, of course, Yeltsin's courage and dignity during the coup are praiseworthy).

Soloveichik calls the former speaker of the USSR Supreme Soviet A. Lukyanov "a son-of-a-bitch," using a simple trick: he is only "quoting" someone who has already used this word talking about Lukyanov. In a bid to demonstrate to the readers his hatred for the organizers of the coup Soloveichik demonstrates only his (and somebody else's) bad taste.

Don't you think that the author made too many "faux pas" in such a short article? I am asking you to publish fewer articles in which emotions replace a serious analysis. Your magazine is not the only one in this respect. But you have competent authors who write excellent articles. Keep to the mark!

Sincerely yours,

A. Shilov, Chernogolovka, USSR

Let's turn Lubyanka into a museum!

Who is right: the *New Times* or the *Military Historical Magazine*?

The price is high? But I'm ready for a sacrifice

turning towards the better? The Union is collapsing right in front of our eyes. Nationalism is on the upsurge. Your hopes that our economy can be saved by the market may easily prove to be a myth. Market relations will lead to a redistribution of material wealth from the shameless party and state "elite" of the "stagnation" period to the equally shameless characters of the forthcoming market. What else can I call them when they stuff their pockets with millions while the country is growing poorer and poorer? Do honest people feel better because these latter-day millionaires consider themselves democrats? The watershed is not between Communists and democrats but between honest people and those who've lost all shame. Now that the coup has failed you are sure to expose as well as you can the plans and steps of its organizers. Of course, it is a crime to usurp power, but try to answer the following questions: how to make people take in and properly store the crop? What should be done if the hungry people come out into the streets and squares? What is to be done if the wave of anti-Communist hysteria (which you are helping to create) sweeps our society?

G.Grudtsin,
Krasnoyarsk Region, USSR

■ I must admit that Leonid Ionin's article "Should drugs become a part of our life?" (NT No. 20/91) shocked me, a former worker of the Institute of Sanitary Education. The author suggests that instead of combatting drug addiction, it should be controlled "by legislative, administrative and educational measures."

The author does not realize what drug addiction is and how different narcotics are. He compares drug addiction to alcoholism, but the two are incomparable. Scientists are still arguing about whether or not alcohol is a narcotic. True, alcoholism is a horrible disease, but you cannot compare it to a heroine addiction. Narcotics differ, and one cannot compare the relatively "harmless" anasha to heroine or cocaine. So how does the author imagine "life" with heroine? Doesn't he know that even if a person takes heroine only once he gets so "high" that he will die to try it again for the rest of his (short) life, that he will lose interest in everything else and will think only about the drug? Heroine addiction is worse than alcoholism, the person who takes heroine degenerates with catastrophic rapidity. So what kind of life can there be with heroine?

A.Yegorov
Moscow Region, USSR

■ I fell for the bait of advertisement and decided to subscribe to your magazine. And I must tell you that I was impressed by the information you plublish. I remembered *NT* as a magazine which described life in exotic countries, the class struggle and told tales about the "bright future." At present, however, it is a serious and analytical publication, a democratic left-centrist magazine whose authors have a high critical and ironic potential. I greatly enjoy reading the articles of such talented and honest people as M.Shakina, K.Myalo, S.Soloveichik, L.Vasilyev, T.Ivanova, L.Yelin, L.Bezymensky and L.Piyasheva. I am happy to see that they have no respect for all kinds of "isms" and "socialist choices." Your mail is also very interesting, for it carries letters with different views. The magazine is expensive, but I am ready for a sacrifice, because I don't want to read the optimistic "tire some monotony repetitions of *Pravda, Sovetskaya Rossiya* or *Krasnaya Zvezda.*

Yuri Malitski
Kiev, USSR

■ I am not a pessimist, but I am a realist, and therefore I am sure that even in a favourable democratic situation, now that the CPSU has been formally toppled, we'll need quite a few years to make a serious step forward towards a normal life. Just think of how many dishonest people, informers, secret agents, overseers, judges, prosecutors and investigators have been brought up in these years. And what sort of children do they have? It will be very hard to get rid of incompetent rulers.

Yevgeny Sery
Bendery, USSR

■ The problem of restoring the Russian state (Russian republic) still remains and it has to be solved. Frankly speaking I cannot understand how a great nation could remain for such a long time without a state of its own. All the ethnic groups inhabiting the former Russian Empire (the present USSR) must receive sovereignty in practice (and not just on paper). And when the sovereign states are formed they must establish union or confederate or some other interstate relations. As in any other matter here, too, things should be done in a definite order. You cannot place the cart before the horse.

I believe that the problem of restoring the Russian state (Russian republic) should be solved through a referendum. All other approaches will yield no results. Up to now Russians have been used as clips to keep the old empire from collapsing under the guise of the USSR.

A.Trifonov,
Candidate of Historical Sciences
Moscow, USSR

***Compiled by* Tatiana Chernova**

THE WAY I SEE IT

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

POLITICAL LIFE

A marble swan in free waters

Russia's leadership, whose unity enabled us to withstand the putsch, has divided. The Democrats are engaged in a power struggle seeking to influence President Yeltsin

Though more than six weeks have passed since the putsch and the Russian leadership's spectacular victory, what do we have now? A lull, idleness after a sequence of radical decrees penned in the besieged White House, after decisive moves to suspend the CPSU, after a somewhat energetic reshuffle in the central bodies of power with key figures replaced by Russian politicians? The situation has less of the euphoria now. Rather is it somewhat scandalous.

Boris Yeltsin, who won the world's admiration during the putsch, sought to prolong the revolutionary romanticism and wanted in one stroke to settle the chronic Karabakh problem, meanwhile ignoring the inaugurated Russian parliamentary session. Whether his one-day sick leave was diplomatic or not is still open to conjecture. At any rate, well protected by tommygunners in Karabakh, he again enjoyed an opportunity to be in all his glory before the Soviet peoples and the entire world. He was impeccable during the putsch, but nowadays it is increasingly observed that Russia's President is the kind of leader who can display his mettle only at a pinch or in confrontation. He is of the sort that finds parliamentary routine, coordination and daily tightrope walking between parliament, government, central bodies and republican leaders boring. Truth to tell, after the putsch the ordinary tenor of political life seems pallid. On the other hand, in such political waters Mikhail Gorbachev is a pretty good swimmer.

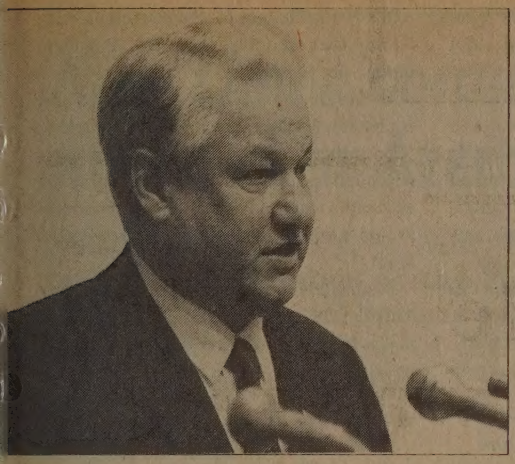
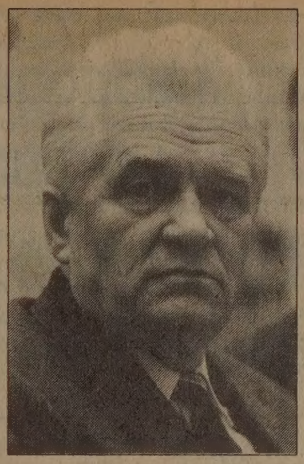
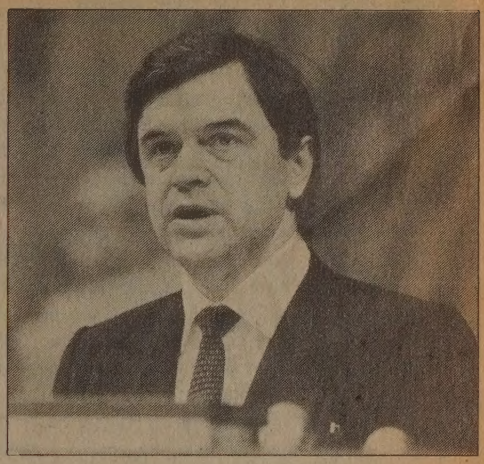
"Parade of independents"

Observers have noted a curious see-sawing between the two presidents. After his spectacular trip to Azerbaijan and Armenia, where he facilitated a Baku-Yerevan accord whose results are still unclear as the gunfire and killing in Karabakh continue, Yeltsin went on holiday in true Olympian style. Meanwhile, what Mikhail Gorbachev is doing now is not that theatrical. With the impressive Yeltsin serving as his foil, he has transformed, as it were, into an "informal." He currently meets businessmen, farmers and representatives of the Soldiers' Mothers Movement and of the intelligentsia, and is thus gradually gaining on Yeltsin. Perspicacious Russian parliamentarians are perturbed; justly or not, they think he is trying to revivify Union structures. They are also worried by former Russian Premier Ivan Silayev's request to halt some Yeltsin edicts that ensured Russia's economic sovereignty.

After Silayev's transfer to Centre level, he was initially suspected of acting as Russia's "agent." Indeed, representatives of the other republics opposed his appointment to the Inter-Republican Economic Committee. Now his request to suspend decrees has infuriated Russia's parliamentarians. Evidently he wishes to keep to a definite set of rules; in his capacity as Russia's premier he had his own interests and his own claims to the Centre, whereas today as head of the central administration, his priorities are absolutely different. Realizing that at the present juncture the Union cabinet is in a state of suspended animation, with no leverage to influence the republics, he has donned the mantle of this new social role and currently proceeds from the interests of the Centre. No wonder Russian parliamentarians want their republic to declare independence as all the other republics did after the abortive putsch. If previously we had the so-called "parade of sovereignties," now we have a "parade of independents." While the difference is hard to fathom, evidently it is modish.

How to influence the President

Boris Yeltsin went on vacation, leaving Russia's leadership in a rather odd situation. The point is not that he is not entitled to a holiday: indeed, after the putsch he certainly deserves a holiday more than anyone else. The point is that today all of political life, fortunately or unfortunately, is fixed on Russia's President. Without his presence in the White House we observe a scandalous disarray. Those who find wrangling delightful were amused by the row that erupted when at a news conference in the White House Ruslan Khasbulatov aired some un-

Have Russia's leaders parted ways?

flattering words about Gennady Burbulis and Sergei Shakhrai, broadly hinting that it would be better for them to resign. With tactful restraint and some condescension Shakhrai brushed aside these sallies as due to the exhaustion the acting Chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet must feel.

We may, of course, ascribe everything to Khasbulatov's habitual peevishness. Indeed, his irrepressible urge to needlessly characterize is common knowledge. Why, just recently during his visit to Japan he termed Yavlinsky a schoolboy copying programmes from Western economic journals. Then, at a news conference in the White House he suddenly called parliamentarian and Sakhalin governor Valentin Fyodorov, who has mounted a campaign against the Kurils transfer to Japan, a mediocre instructor from his, that is Khasbulatov's chair at the Plekhanov Institute, adding that if Fyodorov were to misbehave, he could be sent packing back to the Plekhanov Institute. It must be said that nowadays this kind of behaviour may no longer be regarded as the charming eccentricity of a celebrated parliamentarian, as this is criticism of Yeltsin's closest advisers. Also, the post of Chairman or Speaker of the Russian Federation Parliament will again come up for election at the Congress of People's Deputies of the republic late this month. Has Ruslan Khasbulatov already initiated the hustings?

At the previous congress the chief rivals for this office were Khasbulatov and Baburin, who had been nominated by the two major parliamentary blocs of Democratic Russia and the Communists of Russia. But now, after the putsch, obviously Baburin will no longer be Khasbulatov's main rival. Now it may well be that selfsame Sergei Shakhrai. One wonders whether such demarches will help Khasbulatov or, on the contrary, undermine his reputation. Previously, Democratic Russia was all for Khasbulatov, but today he can hardly rely on its devotion. The Democrats are in disarray and hence a middle-of-the-road with a democratic image, whom the Communists could also accept, definitely stands a greater chance of becoming Speaker.

Jealous Democrats

Khasbulatov's declarations likewise betoken the bitter struggle going on to influence Yeltsin. Already bruited about, moreover more or less openly, are complaints about the "Sverdlovsk (today possibly Yekaterinburg) mafia" that has closed in on Russia's President. These grumblings have already been in evidence in the Moscow press. Indeed, Yeltsin has surrounded himself with his old chums of his Communist Party and YCL years, which the Democrats, believing themselves primarily responsible for his assumption of power, take particularly to heart. Yeltsin says that his choice depended on the organizational abilities and expertise these people possess. Then there is obviously the matter of personal loyalty, be it genuine or illusory. Whatever the case, this attraction to the "old school tie" is definitely a weakness.

Though one may question whether Communists have any right to be in Yeltsin's entourage, or the extent to which they could do a good job, thus far the trend, and not only with Yeltsin mind you, is that while fewer Communists are elected to bodies of power, they are increasingly recruited for the apparatus. Another striking instance is afforded by democratic movement leader and Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, who has in his immediate entourage some rather odious ex-Communists. Could their worth derive from their ideal ability to perform the set task combined with a penchant for red tape that would cause any Democrat to throw up his hands in despair? Plus a feeling of gratitude to a democratic leader for having given them jobs, perhaps.

However, the Communists and the Yekaterinburg chums are only part of the problem. The Democrats are jealous of one another, and in that sense Khasbulatov's news conference may well be seen as a fit of jealousy. Generally, the "I and Yeltsin" or the "I in Yeltsin's life" theme is heard more and more often from a diverse range of Democrats, which for the time is more curious than perturbing. Today the reproaches and the grousing all centre around Russia's President. Where does that leave the rest, for example, the parliament, the government, even the State Council?

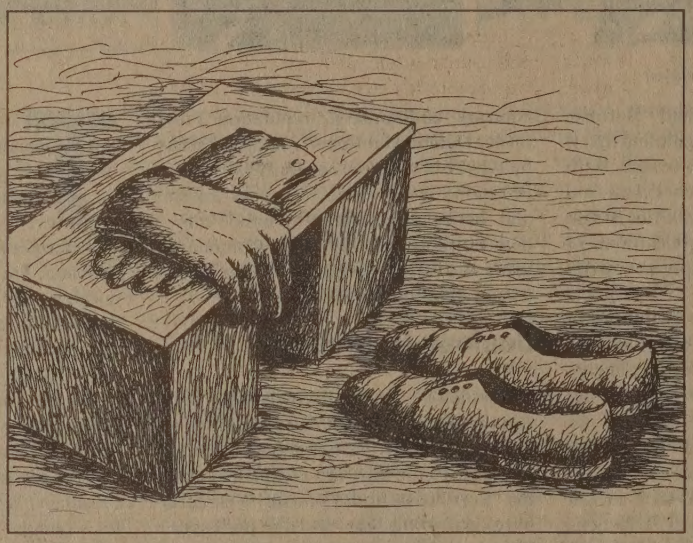
Does Russia's Parliament need Zhirinovsky?

By now it is clear that the recently designed system of executive authority in the person of the President, the State Council and the government is imperfect. As the State Council is but a non-constitutional advisory body, it does not exercise any tangible power. Thus, its members including such intellectual Democrats as Burbulis, Shakhrai and Stankevich, do not play much of a role. They prefer to exercise a merely spiritual influence on the President. And then only when called for. The State Council finds it difficult to compete with Yeltsin's staff because it has no dependable basic structures. Actually, it is suspended in mid-air, which has come as an unpleasant surprise to its members. It seeks to assume political leadership, like a kind of new Politbureau, and refer economic cares to the government. However, that division of labour is again unconstitutional. Its sole alternative is "to befriend" the Parliament.

Meanwhile, Parliament again notes with

displeasure that policy is actually being made somewhere within President's team. What is really happening at its current session is so far difficult to gauge; one would think the sole decision made has been to relieve Isakov of his duties as Chairman of the Council of the Republic and install Ryabov in his place. The impression is that in the President's absence the Supreme Soviet is at a loss.

Suggestions have been made for it to be dissolved. Thus, Oleg Rumyantsev, one of the men drafting Russia's new Constitution, maintains that if at the forthcoming Congress the Parliament stonewalls adoption of this new Constitution, Yeltsin should then appeal over its head to the nation and put the draft Constitution to a referendum. Though this appears unrealistic and is reminiscent more of street democracy, are we to understand this as implying that the **said** parliament is reactionary and superfluous? Whatever the case, its dissolution would not be that democratic. Moreover, one wonders whether the electorate will be willing to go to the polls. If they do, we might find in Parliament not the "most consistent Democrats," as many might think, but Zhirinovsky and his associates.



Drawing by Arkady Gursky

Rumours of the Parliament's death are exaggerated

Yet, not all believe Parliament to be in agony. Presumably, it is reacting sensitively to developments and somewhere deep down is spontaneously forming its own point of view. We say spontaneously, because at present Parliament has no true leaders except for Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is going out of his way to shock everyone. Whatever the case, there already exists a spontaneous displeasure at Russia's involvement, or rather at the procedure of her involvement in the Alma Ata meeting, at which the representatives of the republics reached an accord on an economic union. What irks them is not the text, nor the actual accord, but the fact that in Alma Ata Russia was represented by Vice-Premier Saburov, who had not been authorized to act and whom former Russian Premier Ivan Silayev had taken along with him. True, it subsequently transpired that Yeltsin had authorized Saburov to act. Parliament is sympathetic towards calls for the enunciation of Russia's indepencence also because the other republics, in particular the Ukraine, are re-exporting the raw materials they receive from Russia under inter-republican supplies and selling such raw materials at a profit on the world market.

One politician, who believes Parliament still has a role to play is Vladimir Lukin, Chairman of its International Affairs Committee. "Parliament," he says, "can regain its prestige provided it does not produce the impression of a political clownery. It is wrong to think that today in this time of transition we need an authoritarian leader. What I think we need more than anything else today is order among the Democrats. The republic faces two basic issues, notably the economic situation and inter-ethnic relationships. Hence if Parliament is able to overcome the paralysis of executive authority and avert the republic's disintegration, which, considering the nuclear factor, is most intimately interwoven with Russia's security, it will play a definite role.

"What we need more than ever today," he continued, "is a strong parliament. It has not yet enacted a single bad law. Meanwhile good laws do not hinder presidential authority, rather the opposite. Parliament must necessarily participate in setting up executive authority, supervising the budget and moulding public opinion. It must facilitate a strong President-Premier tandem. Let the Premier serve as Russia's 'economic king' and obtain from President and Parliament a *carte blanche* for the next eighteen to twenty-four months. Let the President pledge not to interfere in the government's activities during this period, inasmuch as it is absolutely plain that it will be obliged to take unpopular measures. The government will need to take full responsibility for the economic situation and after the 24 months are up it will need to report back to Parliament."

Meanwhile the White House expects that Yeltsin will return from his holiday with new ideas and that more specifically, he will reshuffle the government. Earlier, Vice-Premier Lobov, who is also from Sverdlovsk and who during the putsch was appointed head of Russia's "underground" government, had been considered the likeliest candidate. However, as far as one can judge, it seems Parliament does not want to have him the new Premier, especially as it is alleged that he has displayed some loyalty towards the ill-fated State of Emergency Committee. Often heard nowadays in the parliamentary lobbies is the name of Svyatoslav Fyodorov, the world-famous ophthalmologist-businessman who has built up an economic empire of his own in this country. It could well be that Russia needs precisely that kind of go-getter Premier.

* * *

The accord on the economic union was achieved on short order. The twelve republics, who are prepared to enter into close economic cooperation, have likewise outlined a future political community. Again being developed in the shadow of this economic union is a Union Treaty, which, according to the information at hand, will again imply heavy bargaining between what is left of the Centre, in other words the USSR President, and the republics.

In a poem written during the putsch, Yevgeny Yevtushenko called the Russian White House the "Marble Swan of Freedom." He meant not its architecture, but Russia's parliamentarians, their grit and their devotion to democracy.

Marina Shakina

New Times correspondent wounded in Azerbaijan

Nikolai KALINKIN, a *New Times* correspondent and Board Member of the Human Rights Centre under the Memorial Society was wounded during the October 3 shelling of the Armenian village of Karachinar in Azerbaijan

The village of Karachinar is situated in the former Shaumyanovsky District, which the Azerbaijani authorities have stripped of its name and included in the Geranboysky District of Azerbaijan. The village of Getashen, which became known worldwide after the massive deportations of Armenians earlier this year, is situated to the north-west of Karachinar. In August Karachinar became a hot spot on the map of the region and a target of the Azerbaijani OMON's scorched earth tactics. In August, People's Deputies of Russia, Sheynis and Shabad, came to the village on mediatory mission. They succeeded in helping to stop the fighting, but peace did not last long...

In late September Nikolai Kalinkin went on a fact-finding mission to Armenia. He learned about the events in Karachinar and went there to set up a Memorial human rights monitoring station and an unofficial *New Times* office. As a human rights activist, he hoped to prevent bloodshed. As a journalist, known for accurate facts and serious analysis, he wanted to remind the reading public, already tired of bad news, of the undeclared war in Transcaucasia which raged on, frustrating all efforts for peace.

In autumn of 1990, Memorial sent Kalinkin to Baku to act as an observer during elections in Azerbaijan. In November of the same year he reported an outburst of nationalism in Kishinev. In May 1991 he contributed an article, entitled "Armenia–Azerbaijan: the war continues (*NT* No. 25) about the shelling of Armenian villages near the Armenian-Azerbaijani border. In early September of this year he conducted an independent investigation and refuted reports from Baku about the deportation of Azeris from the village of Nyuvadi, Armenia. ("Flight from Nyuvadi," NT No. 37). This time he also found the hottest spot in the region. Naturally, it was the most dangerous place to be...

Information about what happened in Karachinar in October 3 travelled a long way before it reached *New Times:* first it was reported to a radio operator who contacted another operator who contacted Yerevan, from where a call was placed to Moscow.

...Karachinar was shelled from howitzers and possibly two tanks and several armoured personnel carriers deployed in a nearby Azerbaijani village. Some information suggests that Alazan missiles were also used. According to experts, this hardware used to belong to the Fourth Army which operated in late August jointly with the Azerbaijani OMON. Now the troops have been withdrawn, moreover, the new Defence Minister assured the public that the Army would not interfere in the conflict. However, army tanks and howitzers continue to fire. Did the Army secretly transfer them to the Azerbaijani OMON?

As a result of the night-time shelling, the village was destroyed, eight people were wounded and four killed, including the Khachatryan family. Kalinkin was wounded after a 122-mm howitzer fragmentation shell exploded near him. Among other victims he was to be airlifted to Stepanakert, but the military commandant of Nagorny Karabakh refused to provide a helicopter for this purpose. Instead, the victims were taken to Shaumyanovsk along a mountain road. As People's Deputy Zory Balayan informed us, a group of doctors had come down earlier from Yerevan and the victims received the necessary first aid. Balayan assured us that Kalinkin's wound was "of the sort with which soldiers return to the frontline quite soon." A la guerre comme a la guerre...

Very often Memorial members forget to mention what risks they have to take to get information. In one of our forthcoming issues we are planning to publish Kalinkin's report about how the Azerbaijani OMON destroyed the village of Karachinar, using Soviet army hardware.

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The plot of half-wits

Tatiana Ivanova

Some people believe that the coup failed because the junta did not perform properly. But was there anything in our 74-year history that was really done well?

I have recently been driven to despair by male logic. Just listen to the things men are saying. Such serious, clever men of science and politics – the things they say are utter nonsense. I mean the coup, of course – there is no avoiding the topic nowadays.

One of the numerous examples. Appearing on national television were Dr Dmitry Olshevsky and the famous dissident Vladimir Bukovsky who is now referred to, as merely "writer" which is an obvious understatement of his social role. The men were discussing the reasons for the failure of the coup.

Why weren't the phones disconnected and arrests carried out? Why weren't the radio stations silenced? Why weren't the railway stations taken over? There were a lot of other "whys" which our learned men never tire of asking. There was a glimmer of knowledge in their eyes: the putschists must have made a deal with Gorbachev, their inefficiency was only a part of a grand plan, so that...

What was that grand plan about? The answer is unclear, which becomes well doctors of philosophy and famous public figures.

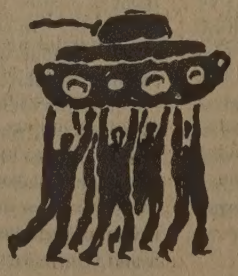
Male logic is amazing. Or it does not work as it has not worked in the past, failing to account for this illogical life of ours. Sometimes too much stupidity amassed in one place can baffle even the wisest of men. Often my arguments with very clever men have ended in their asking me: "OK, let's assume you are right, but how would you explain this?.." My answer was always: "Why, this is socialist realism that cannot be explained, and we are not the ones to condemn socialist realism because we are living in it ourselves." The clever man would grin at the answer, while I thought it was the most complete answer ever given. I have not changed. I think that the August coup is no exception.

I am not at all surprised that the coup failed. I am surprised that clever men fail to understand why it failed.

Was there anything we did well in our lifetime? Did we plough the virgin lands well? Or build the Baikal-Amur railway? Or launch space-craft? Or build cities and houses? Perhaps we were brilliant in combatting crime? Publishing? Tailoring? Laying asphalt? The answer is "no" to all questions. Under no regime, in no weather and under no circumstances have we done anything really well. No country in the world has ever turned out goods anywhere as bad as Soviet-made ones. This applies to absolutely all the factories and plants, whatever their produce. We used to think that our ice cream was the most creamy ice cream in the world, that our chocolates were the most chocolate chocolates in the world until we tasted ice cream and chocolates from other countries. It turned out that "their" ice cream and chocolates were better.

We never spared anything for the army and the armed forces – perhaps we are the strongest militarily? But we have had two great chances to display our military might and strategic genious to the world which left nothing of the illusions – the wars in Afghanistan and in the Persian Gulf.

Every year we witness our glorious "struggles for harvest." The nation's two most powerful institutions – the Communist Party and the army – were preparing for each year's struggle for harvest and entered that struggle deploying all their resources. The Komsomol, war veterans, women's councils, councils of work collectives, students' councils, all the Soviet power, all the media rushed into the struggle only to lose it utterly and ignominiously.



What has ever been done properly here? Remember all the convulsions around the Baltics. In Lithuania... There were special purpose police, and tanks, and underground radio stations, "National Salvation Committees," blockades and the storming of the TV centre. But nothing came out of these efforts in small Lithuania. Nothing at all.

Remember Yeltsin. Wasn't Yeltsin the one whom the KGB and the CPSU hated most? The entire might of this formidable state was mobilized in order to destroy, defame and discredit Yeltsin. So what? Nothing.

Poor organization, you say? No, everything was organized perfectly. Only there was no result.

There are always several disloyal or vacillating generals for each obedient one. Whenever there is a colonel dreaming of rigid order, there must always be another colonel whose idea of order is entirely different. The lower the rank, the greater is the freedom of ideas. And it is not generals, but lower officers who order the troops out of the barracks.

Some people say the putschists were not real putschists, they were half-wits, while the really brainy ones are still to come. No one will come. If there really had been brainy ones, they would have dealt with the half-wits by noon on August 19 and started issuing the right orders to the right people. It's time we stopped trying to scare each other. Only people who fail

to understand one very simple but very important thing could have ventured into the coup. These are the people who did not understand that there is no way to compel this nation to do something that it does not want to do. Only half-wits. And half-wits the putschists were.

This nation had spun out of control long ago, very long ago and I am afraid I must admit that it has not been under any control for the past 74 years. Are you going to cite the example of the bloody 1930s? Did the repressions help manage the country? The answer is negative. At that time nothing was done as efficiently as in the free world either. As for opportunity and potential, so much was buried here during those years of firm order that the free world could not ever have buried so much throughout its history.

People do not work well in this country. They never do things the way things should be done. And I love them. There are many things that I love my fellow countrymen for. And I feel a special affection for them for their having never worked well during the last 74 years. The leadership has always tried to make people work, but it has never been able to do so.

Order? I have always said that Kryuchkov & Co's idea of order would never become a reality in this country. That no dictatorship can be possible here. That no one would ever be able to impose a state of emergency in this country. On the morning of August 19 as I was going to Moscow from the village where I stayed with my mother, she told me: "There's a state of emergency there. They will not allow you to leave the station without your passport." "Mom, I'm sure it'll take them a week to post patrols at the stations, and when they finally deploy the checkpoints, there will always be another exit to leave through..."

The whole world used to frown on us for our never working well... This was a mistake. The world did not know what a general permanent Russian strike means. And this strike has lasted for the past 74 years. The putschists planned a perfect coup with coded telegrams sent to the right addresses and the right orders issued. But the machine glitched as it always has. People did not bother to carry out orders properly. As for the traditional fear, it had been destroyed by the years of *perestroika*. The resistance was powerful. And Gorbachev refused to sign the letter of resignation. He just refused to do it.

Why doesn't male logic suggest to thinkers that this very first gesture of the president was the first stone in the foundation of the happy victory? People who proclaimed themselves the new Soviet leadership became criminals in the eyes of the whole country and the world because they kidnapped the president, kept him in custody or perhaps assassinated him. "Where is the president?" everybody was asking. "Where is the president?" Shevardnadze roared over the crowds outside the White House.

"He's ill," the putschists lied, because they were untalented, because our miserable life has always bred mediocrity. "He's so ill that he can't utter a word, or be shown to the people. We can't specify the place where he is for the sake of his own comfort." "You people are lying," everybody thought.

This one thing – without the three deaths and the clampdown on the press – is enough to make the octet lousy criminals whose words could not be trusted. They embarked on their road to "order" by kidnapping the president. Who would have listened to them? Stupid criminals like themselves? Who would have obeyed them? Again criminals? They could tread on our soil senselessly for a couple of years, arresting thousands of our best people, shooting journalists like ducks and scaring the whole world. Without producing anything reasonable or useful.

Private farmers have always sold us top quality potatoes, private tailors made beautiful dresses. Artists who defied the authorities created great pictures, while independent writers wrote remarkable novels. Things have always been done well where there was freedom.

Gorbachev gave us an opportunity to breathe freely. When they inhaled oxygen, people forgot their fears. And in those fatal hours people rose to save Gorbachev. There is no need to look for discrepancies in his words. When he came off the plane in Moscow he was just talking to us, not giving testimony. We saw a shocked man who did not yet understand what kind of a country he had come to from his Foros captivity. He was not quick enough to understand that the country had been emancipated. That all the citizens were free people. All the citizens, including President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

We all have lived through stress, horror, euphoria, insomnia, fear for our dear ones. Everybody is still exhilarated and some people are not always doing the right things and are not saying the right words including Gorbachev himself. Let us leave investigation to investigators. The participants, authors and ideologues of the coup will answer for their crimes. People who applauded the coup should be sentenced to watching films about those three days that shook the world – films shot in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk and across Russia and the USSR. They would come to know the names of a lot of small towns and villages, which would be a good form of patriotic education. In addition, they would realize that the supporters of the coup are not numerous and that the company which they usually call "the healthy forces" does not include the most likeable people.

Now we are going to start working. In a little while it will be evident that we really love to work. And that we can work well. That we can think proceeding not from false precepts ("the KGB and the CPSU are omnipotent, if they failed, this means they had intended to fail"), but from realities and facts ("The KGB is gigantic, but it is as impotent as the CPSU").

ABOUT NEW TIMES

Alexander Yakovlev:
"Prophetic words"

"I would like to refer you to Galina Sidorova's article published in *New Times* No 3, this year. Immediately after the events in Vilnius, Sidorova provided easily the most accurate analysis of what had happened. I am going to cite some prophetic words. Here they are:

"The country is crawling into dictatorship. This process may be interpreted as a deviation from *perestroika* or as a retreat... I would call this type of dictatorship into which the entire country may soon be plunged the dictatorship of grayness, of obscurantism, ideological dogmas and incompetence dominating in society."

And further: "Some Soviets believe, for example, that tanks deployed in Vilnius are a good lesson for Lithuanians who have been asking for trouble for too long. What else has to happen to make these people realize that if someone fancies they should be taught a lesson, tanks may come to their doorstep, too?"

This is exactly what happened. Tanks rolled into Moscow...

From the speech at the First Moscow Conference of the Democratic Reform Movement, September 23, 1991

Insult by holiness

Why has Red Square, the main square of the capital and of the country, been made a combination of a privileged cemetery and a parade ground?

On the closing day of the latest Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, Anatoly Alexandrovich Sobchak suggested that Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) "be buried in accordance with the religious and national customs of our people and in accordance with his own testament." The suggestion sparked immediate protests, picketers lined up in front of the Mausoleum holding their placards aloft, and some papers denied Lenin having left a testament to that effect.

A noisy dispute is being stirred up again about an important problem which cannot be solved without understanding its essence. If the observance of religious customs consists in performing a funeral service for Lenin, this can be done without taking him out of the Mausoleum. The Holy Patriarch, who has sworn the President in, will hardly refuse to do that. Haven't such burial services been held over numerous victims who have disappeared without a trace in Lubyanka or in Siberia? This will all but put our Ilyich in a class with Serafim of Sarov!

The whole thing is, however, that for the picketers in front of the Mausoleum and for all those behind them, he already is in a class with the saint. They attribute all our troubles to his untimely death, and pin their hopes on his immortality — "Lenin lived, Lenin lives, Lenin will live for ever!" Some still believe that it will all come right at the end if we "go back to Leninist principles" and "proceed along the course charted by Lenin." These people want to worship his apparently imperishable relics and therefore resist those who try to take these relics away from them, like those of Serafim of Sarovsky's once were.

There is a certain difference between Sobchak and picketers, of course. By religion, the enlightened Petersburg mayor means Russian Orthodoxy. The picketers, on the other hand, are communist pagans. Their world outlook is a religion, not a product of intellectual effort, even though they believe in different gods, follow different customs and haven't yet laid down their canon law. Those engaged in intellectual pursuits do without relics. The whole thing is that the wish to bury Lenin "in accordance with religious and national customs" was fulfilled in 1924.

At the same time, disregard was shown for the habits of the deceased, for the fact is that he was an atheist and professed neither Russian Orthodoxy nor paganism; although he probably did not leave a written testament, he had hardly imagined that his relics, made immune to passage of time by Professors Vorobyov and Zbarsky, would be put on public display.

It pays to ponder the nature of the transition made then from rational views (whether "correct" or "incorrect") to religious ones, and the reasons for Red Square, the main square of the capital and of the country, having been made a combination of a privileged cemetery and a parade ground. Until we find the answer to this question we shall not understand anything about our terrible history.

"The attitude toward Lenin as a revolutionary leader was replaced by the attitude towards him as the head of a church hierarchy," Trotsky wrote in his autobiography. "A mausoleum, unworthy of and insulting to revolutionary consciousness, was erected in Red Square over my protests." (Trotsky. *My Life)* Trotsky withheld the reasons, however, why his protests had not been public then, although fate offered him a golden opportunity to expose his chief opponent, a theological seminary dropout, who had conceived and carried out the "Mausoleum project." But the worst thing was that by committing a monstrous outrage against the late leader, not only Stalin, but also most Bolshevik Party members and a substantial proportion of the people, who were enthusiastic about the idea, imbued Lenin with an aura of holiness which appealed to the religious feelings of the masses and about which Trotsky, let alone a rank-and-file veteran Party member could do nothing.

The Mausoleum became the Party's and the nation's answer to the revolution Lenin had organized. Later, as the leaders ascended to the balcony of the Mausoleum, they deliberately or unwittingly demonstrated their organic connection with the holy relics which lay underneath their highboots and shoes. The Mausoleum became the font of the ideologization of the state.

While Lenin had enjoyed a reputation as a daring thinker, while he had put forth rational arguments, the latter could be re-

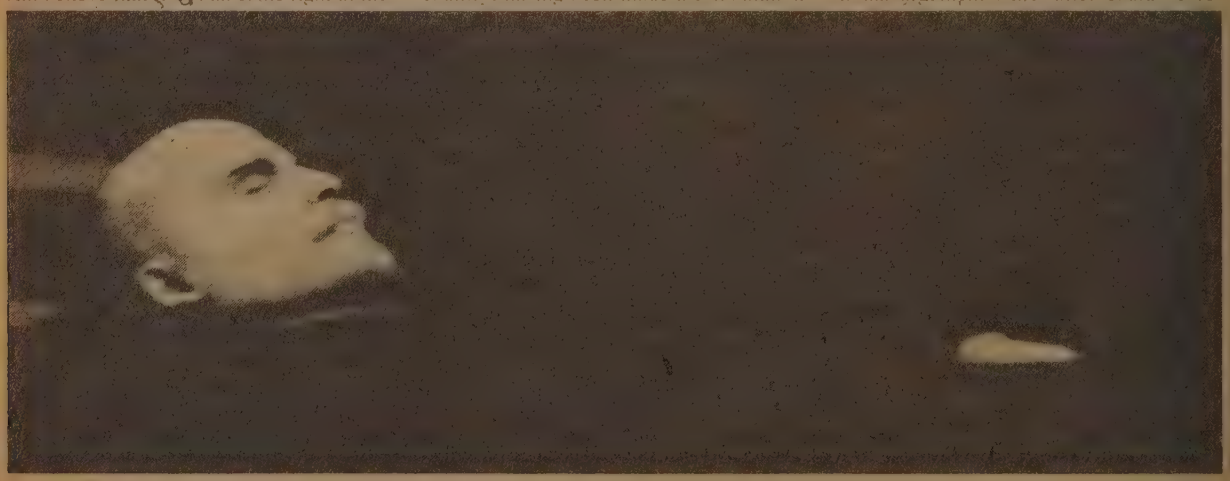


Photo from Der Spiegel (Germany)

futed, even if censors and Cheka men discouraged people from doing that aloud. In Lenin's lifetime, trying to dispute his argument was already regarded as a crime, but not yet as blasphemy. After he passed away and turned from a thinker into the Saviour, logical conclusions and the very obviousness of things lost their meaning. As in any religion, one was supposed to believe, not to understand, because faith was symbolized by an absurdity: the materialist's body immune to decay. At that moment the Soviet state which had at first claimed to be sensible as opposed to senseless autocracy, became ideological, religious and irrational itself. It did not merely act unreasonably in some cases or other, but defied reality in principle by asserting that there was no fortress impregnable to Bolsheviks. Other scientific theories and teachings had their limitations, but the teaching of those standing on the Mausoleum, the teaching of so-called Marxism-Leninism, which called itself scientific, was omnipotent, and its claim to omnipotence later assumed an irrationally supernatural character. Now that the sacred objects of communism are in scant supply, the reaction to this decline is not a return to common sense but a shift of emphasis to the outwardly opposite sacred objects found that side of the Kremlin wall: readiness is voiced to hand over the Kremlin cathedrals to the church which did not own them even in tsarist times. Our leaders think nothing of changing their ideology radically again lest that state should cease to be ideological and become a secular one.

Vladimir Ulyanov is dead. His sincere desire to force people into paradise by mass shootings will be discussed for a long time yet. His earthly life is long over, however, he has breathed his last, and his remains ought to be dealt with the way he himself would have wanted them to be dealt with. He repeatedly attended civil funerals, bidding his comrades the last farewell. So let us give him a worthy funeral, too.

Let Russian Orthodox believers, Moslems, Baptists, Judaists, Krishnaites, communist pagans and adherents of any other religion – unless it calls for violence – worship their sacred objects and perform their rites unhindered. Let them revere holy relics. Let anyone be free to imagine that his faith, his ideology is solely correct. Let anyone be free to change his religion, to adopt Christianity, to join the CPSU, to become a Krishnaite or a free-thinker. However, no religion and no ideology – personal, private, group, party, church – even if it is perfectly tolerant and brings out the best in man, should be identified with the state as a whole. He who does that is a neo-Bolshevik, and which faith he tries to impose on others does not matter much. It is small wonder that, upon withdrawing from the Party, some are trying hard to replace yesterday's ideological dogmas with entirely different but equally obligatory ones; as for us, we have never been in a hurry to join the Komsomol or the Party, and are not willing to adopt any other prescribed faith, either. There would have been nothing wrong with the CPSU separating itself from the state after the revolution and keeping the holy relics of Lenin in a Party education chapel. However, the Party embodied the state, and put the holy relics on display in the central square under guard of honour.

As one enters a church, even out of mere curiosity, one ought to behave respectfully there. But if an ideological temple puts itself above the city and the nation, above the army and school, and demands respect from all the citizens without exception, this is an entirely different matter. This does not do anyone any good, even if the believers are in the majority. Consequently, if we are to humanize life in this country, we must first give Vladimir Ilyich a funeral worthy of a human being.

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SECURITY PROBLEMS

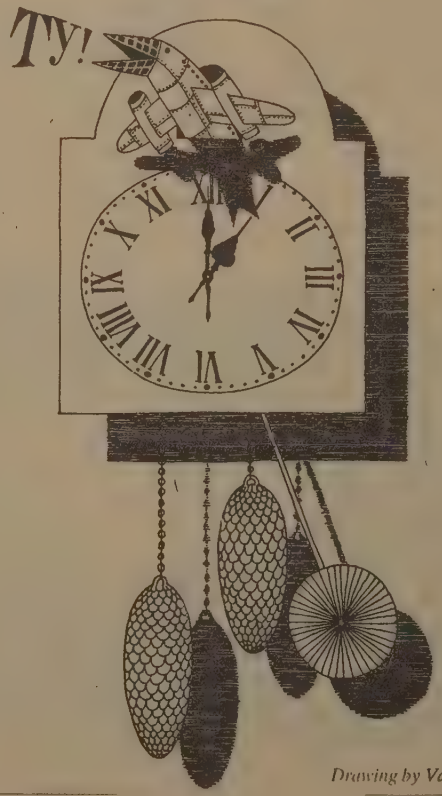
Gorbachev enters disarmament race

● In response to the US initiative Moscow eliminates all nuclear shells, land mines and tactical missile warheads. Nuclear AA warheads, nuclear weapons from surface ships, multi-purpose submarines and ground-based naval aviation will be mothballed

● Heavy bombers will be removed from stand-by alert and their nuclear weapons will be mothballed. The Soviet Union will discontinue the development of the modified short-range nuclear missiles and the small-size mobile ICBMs and will drop its programme of build-up and modernization of launchers for railway-based ICBMs

● 503 ICBMs, including 134 MIRVed ICBMs, will be recalled from stand-by alert. So will six nuclear powered fleet ballistic missile submarines with 92 ICBM launchers.

● The reduction of Soviet strategic forces will proceed at a greater pace than was initially stipulated by the START Treaty. Seven years from now the number of strategic warheads will have been reduced to 5,000 instead of 6,000. A unilateral moratorium on all nuclear testing will come into force on October 5. The strength of the Soviet Army will be reduced by 700,000 men.



Drawing by Valentin Mokievsky

Why they have shelved the nukes

The Americans believe that the archenemy of the US, the former Soviet Union, has become an American partner if not an ally. They fear, however, that the future ally may lose control over its own weapons.

Immediately after the Soviet-American summit meeting earlier this year, the Chief Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, William Hyland, granted an interview to *NT* in which he said in particular: "The strategy of nuclear deterrence has collapsed... After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe the physical possibility of a military clash between

the two armies disappeared. The concept of extended deterrence has been questioned because there is no one to deter."

"Anyone need warheards?"

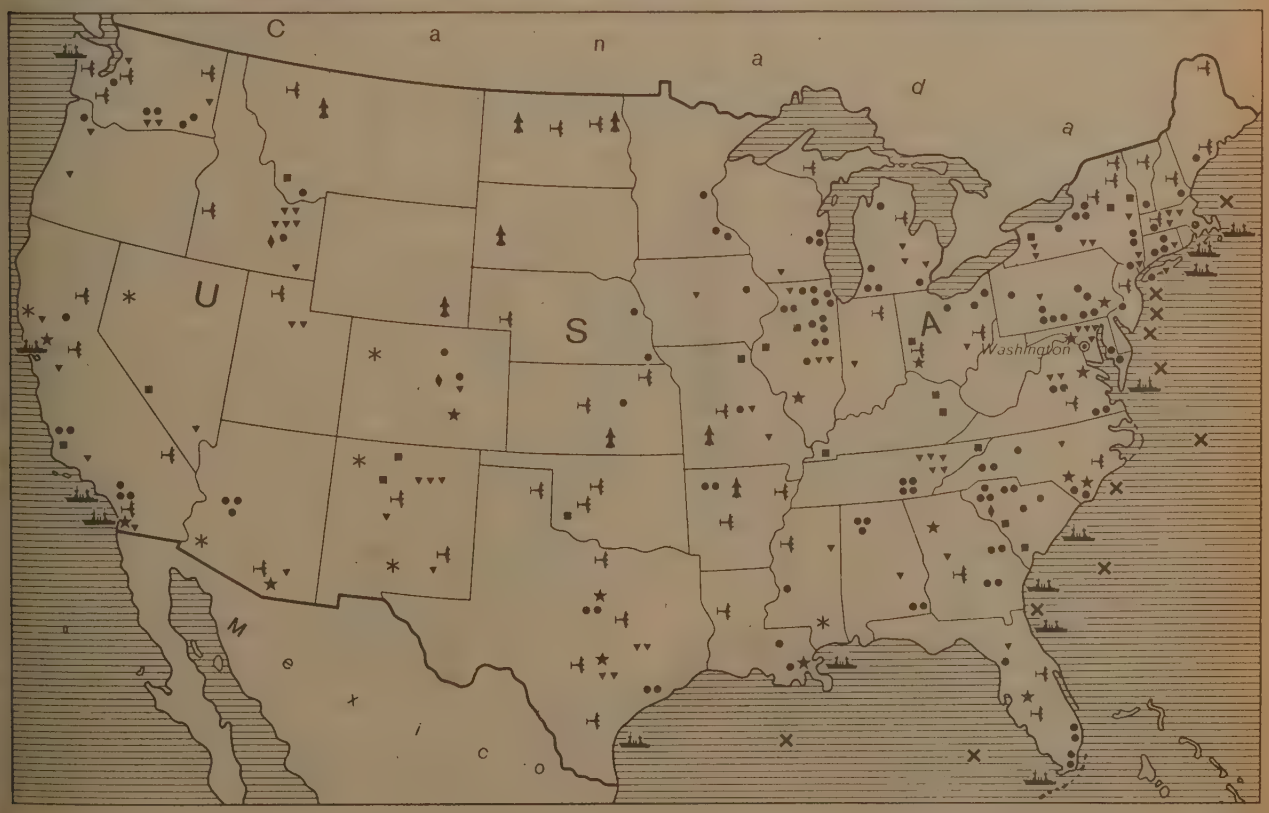
At that moment neither Mr Hyland, who believed that the START Treaty could become the last big step on the way to the elimination of nuclear arsenals, nor I expected or could have expected that the American nuclear strategy would collapse just two months after our conversation, that this collapse would stop being an elusive prospect and would become a practical revision of one of the post-war epoch's most stagnant dogmas.

The new initiative of George Bush is a rare and remarkable example of how politics can revolutionize military matters. The revolutionary proposal of the US President in the field of nuclear disarmament has become a logical response to the revolutionary events in the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet totalitarian empire has finally destroyed the concept of nuclear intimidation. The Soviet Union seems to have firmly embarked on the road of democracy and now the former archenemy may become a partner, if not an ally, of the United States. After all, Moscow joined the anti-Iraq coalition, although not without some reservations. At the same time the United States is seriously concerned about the future of nuclear weapons as the Soviet centre has collapsed and nearly all the republics have declared independence.

During the August coup the Pentagon made no secret of its concern about the control over Soviet tactical nuclear arsenals which include thousands of shell warheads, ground- and sea-launched missiles, bombs and land mines. It is believed that both in the US and the Soviet Union short-range nukes are under much weaker control than strategic ones. It is not difficult to picture Soviet wheeler-dealers selling a nuclear warhead abroad at an agreeable price in hard currency. As for possible clients, has there ever been a shortage of them?

Dealing with the republics, too

Tactical nuclear weapons are deployed in four republics: Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Byelorussia. As far as the political aspect is concerned, the Americans are paying special attention to the stance of the Ukraine. Speaking at the current UN General Assembly the Ukranian leader, Leonid Kravchuk, said Kiev was prepared to join international efforts for disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation. Leonid Kravchuk also assured the American public that his republic was committed to the non-nuclear status which had been spelled out in the declaration of sovereignty of the Ukraine, and spoke up for a speedy elimination – not withdrawal – of nuclear weapons now deployed in the republic. Nonetheless, the *New York Times* called some of the Ukranian leader's assurances "contradictory". The problem is that there is no clear timetable for the elimination of the 130 carriers deployed in the Ukraine.



Nor do control and verification procedures exist. According to the START Treaty these carriers are to be eliminated within seven years. In addition, 46 nuclear weapons systems deployed in the republic are not covered by any treaty at all.

Shortly before leaving New York Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin said the Soviet Union's nuclear forces were under the control of the centre, and the republics where Soviet nukes were deployed were welcome to participate in discussing the future of such weapons systems through their leaders in the State Council of the USSR. It seems that Washington has a different view of the problem, dealing with the newly-sovereign republics as well as the Kremlin. According to Deputy Secretary of Defence Paul Wulfoviz, the US hopes that some republics will destroy their nuclear weapons themselves and looks to the republican leaders to make such a decision.

Armageddon called off

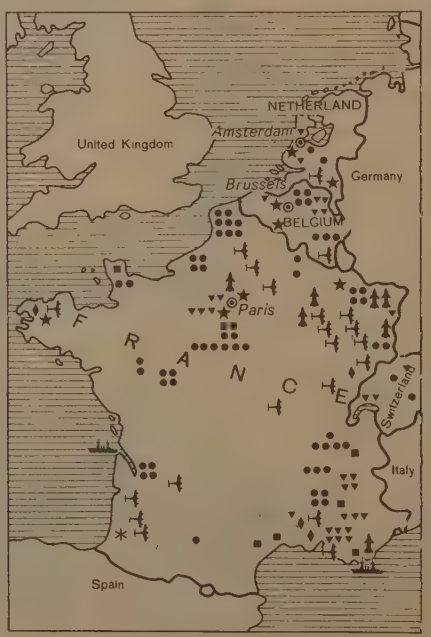
The Americans and Western Europeans will benefit from the elimination of Soviet ground-launched battlefield nukes in particular because the nuclear border in the East will then be moved to the borders of Russia. As for the Soviet Union, whatever its future may look like, it will have the purely military advantage of having NATO's nuclear capability virtually destroyed. Even before the signing of the North Atlantic Pact, US strategic plans stipulated the use of nuclear weapons in the event of Soviet aggression against Western Europe. In 1954 NATO officially adopted the military doctrine based on the massive retaliation concept and in 1967, the concept of flexible response. The former doctrine stipulated the use of all American nuclear forces, including strategic bombers in the event of armed conflict in Europe. The latter envisaged a more gradual progress towards Armageddon, starting with tactical nuclear warfare. From the purely military-technological point of view the flexible response strategy was based on the so-called NATO triad – tactical weapons systems, medium-range systems, and the American strategic forces which were to be employed as a last resort. The signing of the INF Treaty weakened the triad, while the withdrawal of tactical nukes will virtually destroy it. The only tactical weapons system to remain in Europe are American nuclear-capable planes. A high-ranking Pentagon official, Morton Galperin, characterized the US keeping such planes in Europe as a poorly justified unwillingness to reject the right to be the first to use nuclear weapons in Europe.

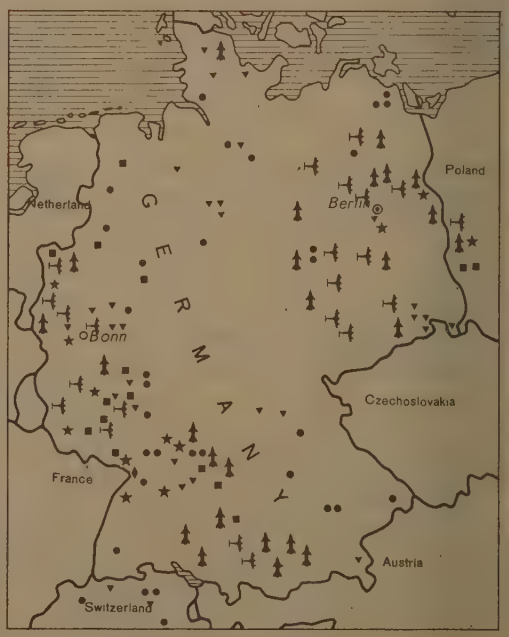
George Bush's decision not to deploy naval tactical nukes is also a very radical step, especially in the light of the Americans' recent refusal to discuss cuts in naval weapons systems. However, the situation with such weapons systems is more complicated than it may seem at first glance. The Soviet Union's largest centres, even St.Petersburg, are beyond the reach of naval short-range nukes, or at least are difficult to hit, while such jewels of America as New York, Boston, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, to say nothing of Washington D.C., are situated on the coasts.

The main advantage for Moscow is the very idea of the global withdrawal of both sea- and ground-launched tactical nukes deep into the continental US. All previous Pentagon scenarios of nuclear war stipulated small-scale nuclear duels, including naval ones, which gradually evolved into general war. The mothballing of tactical nuclear weapons makes such scenarios useless.

Nuclear *perestroika*

The White House initiatives concerning strategic offensive arms, however attractive, are more advantageous for Washington, as some experts were quick to observe. The bulk of the Soviet strategic capability is made up of heavy SS–18 missiles each carrying up to ten warheads. The implementation of Bush's proposal to completely eliminate MIRVed ICBMs would remove the critical part of the Soviet strategic arsenal. As for the Americans, the bulk of their strategic forces is deployed on SSBNs. The main problem is





not that the US has more SSBNs (according to the START Treaty after all the strategic arms cuts the US will have twice as many nuclear missiles on SSBNs than the USSR). The main thing is that MIRVed Trident-2 missiles are in no way inferior to the ground-launched delivery vehicles as far as accuracy and yield are concerned (The Trident-2 has a 90 metre CEP just like the advanced ground-launched MX). I hope I will not disclose any state secrets if I voice doubts that Soviet ICBMs on submarines are as accurate. The Americans made it clear that such weapons systems were not negotiable. One SSBN with Trident-2 missiles carries up to 350 powerful and highly accurate warheads.

I do not think that given the current economic plight the Soviet Union could be tempted by the US proposal to create a limited ABM system.

My short digression into purely technical details is intended to demonstrate that unlike humanitarian and other economic assitance programmes, the nuclear disarmament programme set forth by George Bush is not a free gift. Moreover, according to *Time* magazine President Bush displayed a bit of statesmanship when he politely dictated to the Kremlin how it was to reshape its nuclear arsenals so as to minimize the threat they constitute to the rest of the world. Actually, Bush's proposal aims at stepping up the curtailment of the Soviet Union's most advanced military programmes while allowing the US to keep the key elements of the strategic modernization programme, such as the B–2 Stealth bomber, the submarine-launched Trident–2 missile and a limited version of an ABM system inspired by the Star Wars project.

Does this mean that the Soviet Union should once again concentrate on certain military-technological advantages, which the White House initiatives give the United States? Not at all. Moscow's main gains are military-political and political ones. The Soviet Union is approaching the frontier where it stops being an adversary of the United States and the West not only in the sweet declarations of Soviet leaders, but also in General Staff scenarios.

If the Soviet Union has embarked on the democratic path and wants to integrate into the international economic mechanisms, if it wants assistance from the West, it should not aim its nuclear forces at the nations which extend a helping hand during these troubled times.

The Soviet answer to Bush's proposal formulated in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech has been assessed in America as a dignified and even more revolutionary reaction to the White House programme. Local observers agree that Moscow went further than Washington as far as the tactical nukes are concerned, when it augmented the US programme with the proposal to eliminate ground-launched battlefield weapons instead of withdrawing and mothballing them and voiced its readiness to eliminate on a reciprocal basis all naval tactical nukes and to mothball short-range nuclear weapons removed from planes.

Soviet proposals in further deep cuts in strategic arms are also viewed as very radical in the US. However, American experts note crucial differences between the Bush and the Gorbachev statements: where the US president concentrated on ground-launched MIRVed ICBMs, Gorbachev suggested the halving of all strategic systems, including SSBNs and long-range bombers. However, the Administration spokesmen stressed that these differences were not to be exaggerated.

Washington and Moscow have exchanged unprecedented unilateral disarmament measures, thus achieving more in a couple of weeks than they have done in the past two decades. However, TV diplomacy can not substitute for serious negotiations.

Evgeny Rusakov
Our own correspondent

NEW YORK

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A one act play

The Palestinians have finally agreed to that which they refused for so long: participation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation in a peace conference

In Algiers the work of the 20th session of the Palestine National Council (the parliament in exile) came to its conclusion. At the grandiose five-day spectacle there was a little of everything, from well-rehearsed crowd scenes to subtle political intrigue. The dramatic beginning led to a happy ending.

The conflict between the radical wing of the PLO and the supporters of a more moderate policy regarding the impending peace conference has from the very beginning assumed a bitter character.

The leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, George Habash, and the leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Nayef Hawatmeh, called on the deputies to refuse to participate in the peace conference, calling the American peace plan a conspiracy leading to the elimination of the Palestinian cause. "Never idealize the Zionist enemy," stated Habash. "Only once you've caused it tangible human and material losses can you count on its prudence at the negotiating table." Hawatmeh demanded the resumption of armed clashes by Palestinians against Israel from the territory of front-line Arab states.

Particular intolerance characterized the position of Islamic fundamentalist movements in the occupied territories. "Don't go to Gehenna, don't chose the path of treachery," said Sheik Tamimi, spiritual leader of the Jihad al-Islami, to Arafat. "Don't hope, the Jews won't give even one village in Palestine for your state."

During a break I asked why the sheik was in such a bellicose frame of mind. "We categorically oppose any peace negotiations," said the sheik. "Now the residents of the occupied territories are returning to Islam. Marxism is dead, and its remaining adherents are increasingly turning to Allah. Islamic movements are in the forefront of the fight against the occupiers. Until recently the world was controlled by two dark powers – the USSR and the USA. And Allah has punished the godless: Lenin is being removed from his pedestal with a rope around his neck and thrown on the trash heap. Now it is America's turn, rotten all the way through as it is. We have only one choice – jihad, and only jihad! Allah brought the Jews to Israel to doom. Every tree, every stone in the homeland cries out, "Come and kill the Jews!"

But the director and leading character, Yasser Arafat, had his trump to play. The leader of the PLO presented an ultimatum: he would not stand for election in the PLO executive committee if the path to peace were not supported. Well-known Arab leaders Feisal al-Husseini and Hanan Ashrawi were summoned to Algiers from the occupied territories. These two had previously met with US Secretary of State James Baker on a mission for the PLO. The summary of their report stated that "there have been some important positive changes in the position of the US." Finally, the confrence heard a message from 24 members of the Israeli Knesset to the deputies of the Palestine National Council expressing hope that reason would triumph on both sides.

A turning point was reached. The supporters of the moderate wing of the PLO were heartened up. The core of their position was paraphrased by Bassam Abu Sherif. He said: "The current international situation creates favorable opportunities for the peaceful seettlement of the conflict on the basis of international law. There remains only one superpower, the USA, which is for the first time truely interested in establishing peace and stability in the region. This is evidenced by the initiatives of President Bush, which are based on the "land for peace" principle. In this situation Israel will be forced to negotiate." He asked that preliminary conditions for participation in the conference not be impoosed, and agreement be expressed regardingly the formation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Sherif's position was supported by representatives of the conservative wing of the FATH – the main force of the PLO. Backing it are the rich oil barons of the Persian Gulf.

At the beginning of the year Yasser Arafat embraced Saddam Hussein. He is now trying to redeem himself

Photo from Der Spiegel (Germany)

But the opposition did not give up, trying to drag into the final communiqué wording which was unacceptable to the US and especially to Israel. Suddenly the news spread through the hall that during talks with the king of Morocco, Hassan the Second, President Bush used the term "the Palestinian people" for the first time. This indicated that future talks could touch on the right of Palestinians to self-determination.

The draft of the final document of the session, prepared by Arafat's supporters, was accepted by an overwhelming majority of votes. On the whole the document is formulated in the moderate tone.

There is the impression that the five-day spectacle, during the course of which Yasser Arafat gained the upper hand over his opponents, was meant for the US President. The Palestinians gave Washington and Tel Aviv a sign that they were ready to make concessions, and the ball was in the other party's court.

Ivan Menshikov,
Novosti correspondent, special for *NT*
ALGIERS–TUNIS

Will Coalition S win?

Parting with communism is difficult and unpredictable. Even more difficult is the task of getting rid of the vulgar understanding of social equality

On October 27 this year Poland will hold the first free elections in fifty years. The returns of the elections may prove decisive for the future of the country's economic reform programme (known all over the world as the Balcerowicz Plan) and the international prestige of Poland.

The current socio-political situation in Poland differs strikingly from the preelection days and weeks of 1989. It seems that a whole epoch has passed. In 1989 the contenders in the elections were two political forces: the Polish United Workers' Party with its institutions that symbolized the Communist power monolith, and Solidarity, which was a massive public movement as well as the embodiment of the prevailing public sentiment. Although the "round-table discussion" secured a number of favourable conditions for the old regime, including the guaranteed 35 percent parliamentary representation, the finale was evident: the June 1989 elections were the end of communism in Poland.

Today everything is different. The elections are going to be unconditionally universal, carried out by secret ballot and according to proportional representation. Competing in the elections will be representatives of political parties, and voters will have a chance to familiarize themselves with people who might later become MPs. This means that Poland is in for genuinely free elections. Is there general enthusiasm and calm confidence in the future? Not at all.

A Soviet person who comes for a short stay in this country of abundance where shops are full and lines are short, finds it difficult to understand and accept Polish realities. Only about ten percent of Poles say they are satisfied with their life, and approximately the same number approve of the government policies. Railway workers are on a hunger strike, there are endless walkouts at the huge Star plant and at the Bialystok bus pool. The country is periodically swept by protest of farmers who cannot find markets for their produce, and pensioners who suddenly find themselves below the poverty line assemble to picket in front of the presidential palace. The election battles look like a big theatrical production against this dramatic back-drop. The political life and people's daily cares seem to coexist in parallel worlds which never meet. The political life consists of passionate and uncompromising clashes of political leaders. As for daily life, it is dominated by people's attempts to earn some extra zlotys to buy their daily bread. (The Polish national currency, the zloty, is an internally convertible currency and there has been no monetary emission in the country for two years already.)

Is the political struggle really so sterile? Is society really so indifferent to political passions? What does the political struggle in Poland boil down to?

When it was the leadding opposition force, Solidarity, which used to unite up to 70 percent of Poland's ablebodied population, derived its strength from firm determination and unity. However, Solidarity split six months after it first came to power. Some of the fragments of Solidarity try to preserve the old glamour, others have gone dim, and still others have been transformed beyond recognition. Last year's book of Polish political parties and movements mentioned about fifty new political groups. A similar book issued this year already lists over one hundred.

Political pluralism is a natural and organic aspect of a free democratic society, even if initially it leads to general confusion and some really farcical situations. The fragments of once united Solidarity include small parties with no public following or concrete programmes, whose leaders are mostly concerned about how they look and sound in fifteen-minuten TV election interviews.

Only two serious independent political forces can be singled out from Poland's political spectrum: the Agreement of Centrist Forces and the Democratic Union. Lech Walesa, who had proclaimed himself "the President of all Poles," remains in the shadow. However, there are serious reasons to regard the Agreement of Centrist Forces as Walesa's party. The Democratic Union was set up by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Walesa's former associate and adviser, and later, rival in the presidential elections. The Centrists will have to answer for the current difficulties, the continuing decline of production and living standards and soaring unemployment. The Democratic Union is rapidly scoring more and more points exploiting its leaders' opposition to the Walesa administration and the short memory of the population, which seems to have forgotten that the first course of the economic shock therapy was administered to it by the Balcerowicz-Mazowiecki government. The people who voted for Mazowiecki at the presidential elections have remained loyal to their leader and the former premier now enjoys the support of 20 percent of the national electorate, a figure that twice exceeds the Centrists' current following.

If the major political parties that had broken away from the united Solidarity manage to come to terms and to attract the smaller pieces which continue to demonstrate loyalty to the symbolic name and the spirite of the legendary free trade union (Labour Solidarnosc, Solidarnosc-80, etc.), they may form a ruling parliamentary coalition. Otherwise a chaotic stalemate may set in: the parliament will have no leader and no constructive opposition (a weighty say in the opposition is expected to belong to Social-Democrats who hope for a ten percent following in the upcoming elections).

The victory of Coalition S will breathe new life into the two-year-old radical economic reform programme. In case the populist factions take the upper hand, the prospects of prosperity offered by the initially hard-to-live-with Balcerowicz plan will be buried. There seems to be no third option.

Poland: full shops with no lines

Photo from Der Spiegel (Germany)

Rudolf Borecki
our own correspondent
WARSAW

The crown, Tirana, and the former tyranny

Leka I is dreaming of returning to his throne and making his subjects happy. Can kings do everything?

Only a year ago many Western experts on Albania who were asked if the uncrowned King of Albania Leka I had any future answered unanimously: "Yes, he has, but only in Johannesburg", where he has lived since the late 70s.

Unlike his father, the late King Ahmed Zogu I, Leka has never reigned. Nor does he know his own country: he left Albania with his parents when he was just 2 days old. Ahmed Zogu I, the founder of the dynasty who ruled the country first as president and then from 1928 as King, is very unpopular in Albania. Not a single railroad was built in Albania in the years of his rule, the country had no industry, 90 per cent of the population were illiterate and there were very few doctors. His government obediently carried out all Mussolini's instructions after it had signed a number of fettering agreements with fascist Italy. In 1939 instead of staying with his people and fighting the Italian army which had invaded Albania, Zogu I preferred to emigrate. When the Albanian monarch died in 1961, his death upset no one at home since the Albanians considered him a traitor.

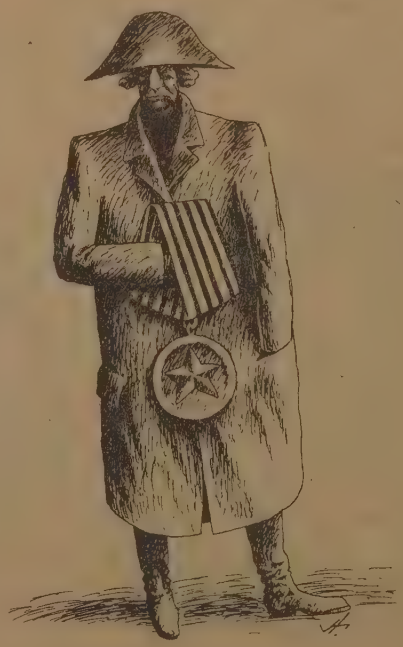
Nevertheless, his heir, Leka, as he repeatedly stated, has been preparing all his life to carry out his mission as King. Now that Leka I is over 50 he is still sure that "monarchy in Albania is a blessing", since it will rid the Albanian people of the hateful personality cult of the Communist era. The Albanian monarchist, who has never seen his country, believes that the personality cult of a King is an entirely different political phenomenon, since it is based on faith, rather than compulsion.

However, Leka I claims that he is not going to hold with all his strength to the crown and is ready to sacrifice his throne if need be. "Don't think that I am working to restore the monarchy", he has repeatedly told journalists. "I want my people to have an opportunity to express their will." But the would-be King is not being frank. He hopes that the people will vote for him in a referendum which Leka guarantees to hold if he returns home.

The modest house to the North-West of Johannesburg, where Lika lives with his Austrian wife and his son (his heir), is safely guarded. The King is always followed by a bodyguard. The "King without a crown" claims that he has always led the life of a "real Albanian." Apart from being a Moslim this means that Leka has never parted with his revolver – at least this is what journalists say about his love for fire-arms. However, his personal security measures are justified, as the past few years have seen six attempts on the King's life.

However the acute fear of danger which never leaves the King has not made him a hermit. He is always willing to meet journalists, and from time to time he visits Western Europe and the United States where he meets his monarchist-allies and possible allies from among Albanian political émigrés. He does need any allies, although he claims that most émigrés support the monarchy and it has always been like that.

Leka believes that all émigrés (the Albanian political emigration scattered all over the world numbers some 370 thousand) monarchists and republicans alike – welcome radical changes in Albania and cannot but feel a burst of energy. But unfortunately, they still have no single leading centre, no recognized leader, clear-cut idea of the future struggle and no concerted plan of action. At the forthcoming congress, if he manages to convene it, Leka plans to unite them under his royal banner and form a government in exile, as an alternative to the one in Tirana.



Drawing by Arkady Gursky

Apart from politics the King engages in business. He received a military education, but in England, where he graduated from the privileged Sandhurst military academy, he made his first steps in commerce. His commercial activity must have borne "golden fruit" since Leka I explains, without going into detail, that his income is one of the sources of financing the Crusade against the "communist dictatorship."

Yet money could hardly give Leka I a chance to become the Albanian King. Until recently his plans to return his throne were nothing but a beautiful dream. In the meantime, history has shown that revolution may occur even in countries which had no political opposition for decades, and no dissident movement. In Albania during the 45 years of the regime's existence, with and without "the father of the nation" Enver Hoxha, there has not been a single serious demonstration of discontent and the most resolute and irreconcilable opponents of the regime had only one way of expressing their protest – to flee abroad illegally. All of a sudden Albania has lost its doubtful glory as the last stronghold of orthodox socialism in Europe. What next?

The heir to the Albanian throne Leka I has no doubts about that. Inspired by the rapid developments he is full of optimism on his farm in South Africa, from where his voice is heard louder and louder: "We, Leka, the King of Albanians."

Sergei Ivanov

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The Soviet brick in the Berlin Wall

Igor Osinsky

The Wall is the most repugnant and convincing evidence of the failure of communism...

John Kennedy

The 17th of June, 1953, more than 300,000 people poured out onto the streets of Berlin. The workers took the prisons by storm and drove out the functionaries. The party chiefs were at a loss, on the verge of panic. But Moscow, as usual, extended a hand of "brotherly proletarian help." The Soviet tanks quickly rid Berlin of the rebels. Twenty or so men died.

This event showed that the situation in East Germany was not as stable as the leaders of the "first socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil" had thought. But culprits were looked for elsewhere. The communist leaders of East Germany considered the already flourishing West Berlin, which any resident of the "eastern shore" could freely visit, a time bomb.

East Berliners visiting the western part of the capital could see with their own eyes that the market economy was more effective than the socialist planned economy. In 1958, Walter Ulbricht publicly declared that the level of life in East Germany was rapidly approaching that of West Germany and that already in 2–3 more years the consumption of basic food products per person would exceed that in West Germany. That was not the truth, to say the least.

The stream of refugees to the West didn't lessen. As a rule, the young highly educated specialists left, and that worsened the already difficult economic situation in East Germany. The propaganda of a happy future did not have the desired effect.

From East to West: escape from "happiness" *Photo from Paris-Match (France)*

The Khrushchev "ultimatum" is essential in understanding the history of the Berlin Wall. The 27th of November, 1958, the Soviet leader announced to the heads of the main three Western states that they must get out of West Berlin in 16 months. This would make it possible to turn it into a demilitarized free city. Actually, that meant the whole city would then come under the sovereignty of East Germany.

Khrushchev: "I was the last instance..."

The Western states refused to meet the ul-

timatum. In searching for a new status for West Berlin acceptable to all sides, the US President John Kennedy made the following three points underlying the American position: acknowledgement of the legitimate presence of the Western states in that part of the city; freedom of movement; and guarantees for the livelihood of the West Berliners.

During the Vienna talks (June 1961) between the leaders of the two leading states in the world, the following dialogue took place.

Khrushchev. War or peace depends on you now. If you send one division to Berlin, I'll send two.

Kennedy. You want change at any price, but I don't.

Khrushchev. A peace treaty with East Germany, with all the ensuing consequences, will be signed by December of this year.

Kennedy. If that is true, then it's going to be a cold winter.

Khrushchev recalled: "I know that the Wall is something horrible. But the day will come when it comes down. But only when the reasons it was put up for are gone. What was I to do? In July 1961 alone more than 30,000 East Germans left, and by the way, the best and hardest working. It wasn't difficult to see that the East German economy would falter if we didn't do something about the massive exodus... There were just two options: an aerial barrier or a wall. An aerial barrier would have resulted in a serious conflict with the United States, maybe even war. I could not and did not want to take such a risk. So the wall was it. I will not hide that I was the last instance in giving the order."

Meanwhile, in 1961, the stream of refugees began to take on a catastrophic dimension. Rumours of possible extreme measures filled the city. In this situation Walter Ulbricht felt it necessary to publicly deny them. At the press conference on the 15th of June, 1961, he said: "There are people in West Germany who want us to mobilize the construction workers of the capital of East Germany and erect a wall. I do not know anything about such intentions. The construction workers of our capital are occupied mainly with building houses. No one intends to put up a wall."

Moscow and Berlin acted in concert. The letter of the 24th of October, 1960, sent by N.S. Khrushchev to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG, Walter Ulbricht, went as follows: "Dear Comrade Ulbricht, the CC of the CPSU received your letter of the 18th of October, 1960, concerning Berlin. We think it would be wise to exchange views on all points in this letter during your visit to Moscow in November. That means no measures for changing the situation at the border of West Berlin will be taken before your arrival in Moscow.

Communist greetings,
N. Khrushchev."

The day arrived, the 13th of August

At the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries, which took place in Moscow the 28th-29th of March, 1961, the idea of closing the border with West Berlin was rejected. But Walter Ulbricht continued to persuade the leadership of the USSR and other socialist countries that there was no other way of preventing economic collapse and possible aggression on the part of NATO. At the meeting of the general secretaries of the Communist parties of the socialist countries – held in Moscow the 3th-5th of August, 1961 – East Germany received the needed approval from its allies. The 7th of August at a closed session of the Politburo of the CC of the SUPG, the "D" day was set.

At night, Sunday the 13th of August, a first-grade alert was announced. The soldiers, police and volunteer workers' squads were ordered out to points where construction materials for building a temporary barrier were already in place.

The operation did not go entirely smoothly. There was poor organization on the part of the armed workers volunteers, who did not hurry to carry out the orders of the party leadership. They were several hours late in starting to work. Incidentally, in the papers coming out the next day not a word was said about this. Just the opposite, the communist press praised the monolithic unity of the Army and the workers. And all documents recreating the true course of events at the Berlin Wall the 13th of August and the following days were buried in the safes of the Ministry of State Security only to become known quite recently.

Early in the morning of August 13th, the population of Berlin found out that they now lived in a divided city. Huge crowds of people gathered at the border that had been raised overnight. Confusion and disorder reigned everywhere. At every step dramatic events were taking place...

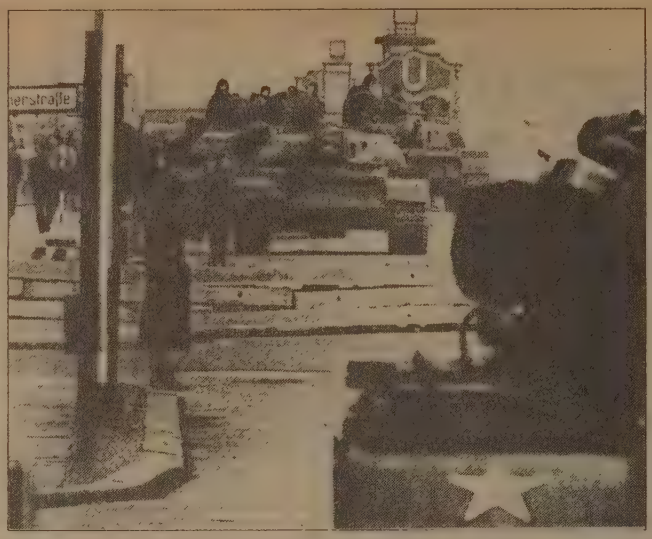
A wedding party having made merry all night and not suspecting anything set out for the continuation of the ceremony at the bride's parents. But a few paces away from the house they were stopped by armed border guards.

Berliner Peter Selle found himself in an even more ridiculous situation. They did not let his wife through to him in West Berlin. After countless unsuccessful attempts to reunite the family through official channels, he sought out a West German woman who looked just like his wife, and tried to use her passport. As the East German press noted, the alert border guards intercepted this "malicious provocation."

There were some attempts to escape to the West in the first hours after the wall was erected. The balcony of the house where the 58-year-old Ida Siekmann lived hung right over the wall that was being built. In desperation the woman jumped from the third floor, but fell to her death... Another jump to freedom was photographed by the Hamburg reporter Peter Leibing. While interviewing people to find out their mood, he noticed how nervous a young border guard on duty at a hole in the barbed wire was. He did not seem

to know what to do. The professional reporter sensed that something unforeseen could happen here. And he was right. The soldier (he turned out to be a 19-year-old Conrad Schumann), with his rifle in his hands, jumped across the barrier...

All awaited the reaction of the Western states, some with hope, others with fear. And it was not groundless. When Soviet and American tanks froze oppposite each other, it seemed that nothing could prevent a tragedy. Fortunately, neither of the sides lost its self-control...



August 1961. Great tank confrontation. Fortunately, the guns remained silent
Photo from Der Spiegel (Germany)

Unlike the majority of Berliners, the Western politicians experienced a kind of relief: Moscow and East Berlin could have thought up something worse.

Here are some of the thoughts of the President of the US, recorded by one of his advisors several days before the erection of the Berlin Wall:

If the Soviet Union lost East Germany, they would also lose Poland and all of Eastern Europe. It must do something to stop the stream of refugees... Maybe put up a wall? We can do nothing about that. I can unite the alliance (NATO) in order to defend West Berlin, but I can do nothing to keep East Berlin open.

Some in East Germany thought that by erecting a concrete barrier the East Germans had well defended their freedom from encroachments from without and now could calmly build their new happy life. Others understood that they were in a stone cage. "What is socialism if it is necessary to wall yourself in so that the people don't flee," wrote Stefan Heym bitterly. These words made him a dangerous dissident...

Together with the concrete wall, an invisible spiritual wall was erected, which proved to be more solid and durable...

Erich Honecker: "The Wall will stand for another 100 years..."

West and East Berlin became more and more separated from each other.

The night of the 13th of August the telephone and mail services between East and West Berlin were severed.

The 15th of August, a ban on the passage of autos from West Berlin was introduced. The border guards fired for the first time.

The 17th of August, the railroad tracks for three lines of commuter trains going to the western part of the city were dismantled.

The 24th of August, the first victim was written into the black count on the Wall. The police killed 24-year-old Günter Litfin, who tried to swim across the border.

The 21st of June, 1963, a 100-metre restricted zone was introduced. The 26th of June, on a visit to West Berlin, John Kennedy said when addressing the people: The Wall is the most repugnant and convincing evidence of the failure of communism... I am proud to say that I am also a Berliner.

The 4th and 5th of October 1964, 57 people escaped to West Berlin through an underground pass they dug. This mass flight was filmed with an amateur camera.

Over the 28 years of the Wall's existence hundreds if not thousands of people tried to get across it. There was no limit to the inventiveness of the fugitives. Take the little car Izetta. In size it is just slightly bigger than a suitcase. Even the driver has a hard time getting into it. To hide a passenger in it would seem ridiculous. And therefore the East German border guards let these miniature cars through, hardly inspecting them. Clever daredevils took advantage of this. They rebuilt the car, changing the majority of small units for absolutely miniature ones. They managed to free up a little space that way, and in some unimaginable way squeezed in illegal passengers. This worked several times...

Others went in regular Opels. The fugitives in them put all their chips on the line. Having dressed in self-made Soviet uniforms, they counted on the German border guards not daring to inspect them too closely. And when they were sure that they were about to be discovered, they floored the gas pedal, rammed through the blockade and raced towards the West under a hail of bullets...

On the 8th of June, 1987, during a rock concert near the Reichstag in Berlin, there were disorders. The 12th of June the same year, the US President, Ronald Reagan pronounced his famous words at the Berlin Wall: Mr Gorbachev, destroy the Wall!

The 19th of January, 1989, Erich Honecker said: "The Wall will stand another 50, another 100 years – until the reasons it was built are removed."

Eight months later, the 1st of October, 1989, more than 6,000 East German citizens having been given refuge in the West German embassies in Prague and Warsaw were taken to West Germany on a special train. The 27th of October, the State Council of East Germany announced it would grant amnesty to all convicted for attempting to flee to the West.

On the night of the 9th of November, 1989, the East German government informed the people that the border had been opened.

That is a short chronicle of the infamouos existence of the Berlin Wall. It became the grave marker for 80 persons who tried to get across illegally.

The Jewish dilemma

Soviet Jews have two options, but neither seems attractive

Sad eyes... Tired faces... The masochistic attraction to vendors selling "patriotic" newspapers and magazines overflowing with hatred for Jews... Wise speeches about anti-Semitism in this country and all over the world... These were my impressions of the meeting organized by the Vaad (the Confederation of Jewish Organizations and Communities) during the Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension. On the first day of the meeting the delegates were busy waiting for a representative of the President of Russia, familiarizing themselves with the members of the presidium and exchanging opinions... The eagerly awaited presidential representative never arrived, however. The kind souls forgave President Yeltsin: there was bloodshed across the country and the Jewish question could wait... Anti-Semitism is the disease of all of mankind, but, as one Vaad activist, Zinovy Kogan, put it, "only the Jews feel hurt."

For two days the building of Moscow's little Jewish theatre, Shalom, accommodated Jewish activists from all over the world who discussed two options, two ways out of the existing situation: to emigrate from the USSR or to stay in the disintegrating Union and survive.

Foreign participants, especially those from the United States and Israel welcomed the Jewish exodus from Russia (last year 184,268 people emigrated to Israel, and over 106,000 emigrated in the first eight months of 1991). At the same time, they warned the people already packing for far-off lands: "You are welcome, but you must remember that we have our own headaches and you will have it harder than we do." I did not notice any special enthusiasm on the part of our compatriots either. Few of them reminded me of the Jewish poet Judah Halevi who lived in Spain in the 12th century and dreamed of coming to Jerusalem: "When I kneel down on thine stones and spread myself on thine holy soil, it will taste sweeter than milk and honey." Unfortunately, no "milk and honey" awaits Russian Jews either in the Soviet Union or in the Promised Land, and they understand this perfectly.

Is staying in Russia a better option? The Jews are afraid of pogroms. Sociologist Vladimir Shapiro cited the following statistics: 39 percent of Soviet Jews fear pogroms may begin any time. The Vaad conducted an opinion poll among the non-Jewish population in order to reveal people's attitude towards Jews. Frankly speaking, I was somewhat shocked by the wording of the Vaad question, which was basically tactless. In a healthy society the question is easy to answer: I like good Jews and I dislike bad Jews. Naturally, the same goes for Russians, Armenians, and other nationalities. Are there any bad nations? Only individual people can be bad... Nonetheless, the findings of the Vaad opinion poll make even the strongest tremble. 5 to 7 percent of the Soviet Union's non-Jewish population declared themselves dedicated anti-Semites prepared to go to any lengths to eradicate "the wicked people." Another 20 percent are moderate, "traditional," anti-Semites and some 40 percent said their attitude towards Jews was generally negative. The findings indicate that about two-thirds of the population have no love for Jews – an alarming figure. The attitude to Jews is the worst in Byelorussia and Moldova, and the best, in Lithuania and Georgia. However, Russia, which is in the middle of the disgraceful list, remains the only republic where anti-Semitic organizations are active.

One can easily understand the Jew's fears, taking into account such public utterances of some Russian anti-Semites:

A.Kulakov (the Popular Orthodox Movement): "The Jews bear a collective responsibility for the genocide of the Russian nation and other peoples of this country!"

Ye.Pashnin: (the Christian Patriotic Alliance): "Jews are the nation of man-haters..."

I asked a Canadian delegate, Dr. Irwin Cotler, whether such utterances might be possible in the West. Said the professor: "No, once again the Soviet Union is a world leader. Our democracy has not matured enough for this. In the West such people would have long since been sent to prison."

Jewish activists find it impossible to explain Gorbachev's and Yeltsin's embarassment during a recent TV show when a Texas rabbi asked them to specify their attitude towards the Pamyat Society, notorious for its anti-Semitic and xenophobic views. Neither president offered anything coherent as an answer. Were Gorbachev and Yeltsin subconsciously afraid that "the public" would suspect them of being involved in "the kike-masonic conspiracy"? Avoiding a direct answer wouldn't help anyway. According to Pamyat, any democratically-minded person is either a Jew or dances to the Jewish tune... However, Bush, Mitterrand, and Kohl do not seem afraid of such suspicions.

Pamyat toughs in Moscow. Ready for pogroms?

Photo from Der Spiegel (Germany)

The Tallinn writer, Platon Afanasyev, who comes from a noble Russian family, was not afraid of being labelled "a kike-mason." When a child, he lived in an area occupied by Nazis. The winter was cold and hungry. One day Platon's mother presented him with a pair of mittens. It turned out later that the mittens had belonged to a Jewish child killed by Nazis. "I can't forget this even today," Platon Afanasyev said, "The Russian nobility is opposed to anti-Semites."

Is he a lone defender of Jews?

Loneliness in the face of a realistic danger has frozen people's souls. There is no escaping the feeling of anguish. Where does a tired heart find peace?

***

I found a dead rat under the presidium's table. No, the rat was not another ploy of anti-Semites. The whole country is swarming with these filthy beasts.

Yakov Borovoi

Vladivostok is in Europe

believes a prominent Austrian politician

It was only recently that proponents of Greater Europe were looked at as wild dreamers. Now this idea is seriously discussed by statesmen and party leaders, well-known research centres and prominent publicists.

Dr Herbert Kraus, a prominent Austrian public figure, president of the Vienna Liberal Club, is one of the people who promoted the common European mentality. He has published a book entitled *Greater Europe: A Confederation from the Atlantic to Vladivostok.* The main idea of the book is the necessity of integrating the Soviet Union into European political, economic and social structures. *New Times* Vienna bureau chief **Anatoly Kovrigin** talks to Dr Kraus.

New Times. You promote the idea of a European confederation of states and peoples from Lisbon to Vladivostok. What makes you bold enough to suggest the creation of such a gigantic international entity today, when many peoples desire to withdraw from the existing multinational states?

Herbert Kraus. These peoples want to end oppression by a more powerful neighbour-nation, not leave a voluntary union of states. The Croatians wish to free themselves from Serbian dominance which they perceive as something alien and hostile, the Balts and the Caucasians want to get away from Russian dominance. The Serb dominance is the result of imprudence on the side of those who won both world wars, the Russian domination is the strengthened legacy of Czarist imperialism.

N,T. Do you think that Slovenians and Croatians, Lithuanians and Georgians will agree to join your confederation?

H.K. I am positive that they will. Almost all these nations have already expressed the wish to become members of the European Community, the embryo of the future confederation. They need the protection of a voluntary and legitimate union of nations. If they find themselves under such protection and enter a common larger European structure, many problems generated by economic interdependence and ethnic relations will be automatically solved.

People who continue to share the great-power outlook, who think it necessary to preserve united Yugoslavia and the Soviet empire, still think in categories dating back to the 19th – early 20th centuries. Meanwhile the vector of development has changed. We can still remember conquerors, in Europe too, who craved greater lebensraum. The Germans under Hitler and the Japanese called themselves "nations without a lebensraum" in order to justify the Second World War. When they were defeated and found themselves on even smaller territories, they started to participate in the international division of labour, eased the regime of economic borders and became great economic powers thirty years later.

It turned out that territories did not matter much, what really mattered was open economic borders. When this fact was finally understood the European Community and the Free Trade Zone appeared.

N.T. Do you think the integration process you speak of could also be possible in the East?

H.K. Yes, I do. In my opinion the East will not be saved by state loans and economic assistance from the outside. I believe that the really promising aim of the new European policy is the creation of a great European power, because then (perhaps even now!) thousands of Western industrialists and businessmen will be able to penetrate the East which has rich natural resources, skilled workers and good specialists. Western businessmen will be an example for the local business communities, will impart an impetus to the locals' still dormant economic energies. Thus, a free-market economy will be reborn from within and very soon, not "after several decades" as President Mitterrand believes. Living standards will start rising very soon.

N.T. You wrote in your book about Greater Europe: "Gradual integration of European peoples must end with Russian, German or Spanish solidiers' having one Commander-in-Chief and one uniform." My question is whether an economic union alone would not be enough?

H.K. It would not from a more remote perspective, that of solid

peace. Conflicts between peoples are unavoidable. As long as states have their own armies, they will continue solving their conflicts on the battlefield. If peoples of one continent form a strong state structure with a common parliament and a common constitution, then compromises will be sought in parliament, in supranational courts and other democratic institutions. This system has been working perfectly for five hundred years in Switzerland which is the home of four peoples; it regulates the relations between states of the USA. And it became possible only after regional armies were dissolved.

N.T. Are you sure that peoples with their rapidly growing national awareness will agree to concede a significant portion of their sovereignty in exchange for larger markets and greater guarantees of peace? The feeling of national pride incorporates a tremendous destructive potential. Aren't you overlooking a formidable obstacle which can render your idea unreal?

H.K. The more isolated a nation is, the more fanatical are its national feelings. However, the new time when world trade, international tourism and television are booming and general education standards are rising, makes people with nationalist orientations think in broader political terms. It is our long-standing dream – to make it possible for any European to travel across Europe freely, to trade, to seek jobs, to set up firms, to build houses and to find legal protection. I am sure that each intelligent person, be he a businessman or a worker, wants such freedom more than his pure German or French sovereignty. Citizens of the twelve EC states agreed to the inevitable shrinking of their "small sovereignties" not only because of the prospect of higher living standards. It was the first time that they discovered their common European and national identities, and they will benefit from it.

N.T. Might there be the danger of new forms of dominance coming from great nations, confederate bureaucracy or the military in Greater Europe?

H.K. Indeed, in the Common Market there is a danger that, for example, reunited Germany's 80-million population may dominate the community in economic and other spheres. However, in a common European parliament all German-speaking representatives would get only one sixth of the seats, Russians – a little bit more than one sixth, non-Russian-speaking peoples of the Soviet Union, the French with their loyal allies in the east of Central Europe, the British with their traditional friends in the North, and southern peoples who are not members of any groups or alliances would be given the same number of seats in parliament. The thoroughly calculated status of peoples would make it possible for peoples and religions to coexist peacefully, which has long been a reality in Switzerland.

The general administration of the confederation must, of course, be more democratic and less bureaucratic than the Brussels-based EC leadership. The end of the war threat in Europe as well as the original military-geographic position of Greater Europe would offer reliable guarantees.

N.T. The idea of Greater Europe is in the air. Its implementation, however, seems to be a matter of a more remote future. Why did you, a former politician of small Austria, assume the mission of promoting such a grand project?

H.K. I may have overcome the traditional West European fear of "those unpredictable Russians" to a greater degree than other people. I have been watching the Soviet Union for fifty years, I lived among Russians, was in various situations together with them and I am sure they can be sincere friends. I am sure that now, after they have travelled the 70-year road of suffering (they took also our share of sufferings) they will enrich our European culture as Pushkin, Gogol, and Dostoyevsky have. I feel I must resist the West's concealed dislike of the "Motherland of Bolshevism."

The second reason is that I am no longer actively engaged in politics and can afford being known as a utopian, because for many people Greater Europe remains as utopian as democracy did in 1789, the UN in 1939 and the European Community in 1950. I feel obliged to help today's politicians who are in the habit of setting forth timeserving aims and popular slogans gaining tangible but fleeting sucess, to help them understand what they have already approached, but are still unable to proclaim.

N.T. How do you think the recent events in the Soviet Union will influence the idea of Greater Europe?

H.K. The putsch and the changes that followed it can be called a crucial turning point for the USSR and the whole world. The August revolution changed the Soviet Union both externally and internally. The fetters of totalitarianism have been broken. The way to civilized Europe is free. It is obvious that you need a common economic space – the only thing that can help independent republics overcome serious difficulties. The European Community's role in this is unprecedentedly important. The Common Market must extend a helping hand. Investments in the East are investments in the future, the future of the whole continent.

* * *

At the end of the interview Dr Kraus told me he had been happy to receive a letter from Moscow in which President of the Soviet Foreign Political Association Eduard Shevardnadze expressed an interest in setting up a league and invited Dr Kraus to talk things over in Moscow.

VIENNA

Drawing by Arkady Gursky

Glory to Father and Son...

...sings the nation and does not envy anyone in the world

Ilya Gerol,
Canadian political scientist

I was walking through the tunnel in the carefree manner of a man unaware of the dangers that may be lurking round the corner. Unlike me, my South Korean guide, Col. Hwang Jung Woo, knew that there could be nothing pleasant ahead of us. With a polite smile he asked me to walk slower.

"Is there a mine?" I thought I guessed.

"A puddle," the colonel answered, "a big one."

Chatting like that we killed quite a lot of time, but we were still in the very beginning of the long tunnel secretly dug under the middle of the demarcation line that divides the Korean peninsula into two very different states.

The history of the tunnels, the construction of which was ordered by the Great Leader of North Korea, who is – entre nous, but fully in accordance with the claims of the Pyongyang media – the leader of progressive mankind and everything that is to be found in the world, reflects the essence and form of the more than forty-years-old conflict beteween the Koreas.

Several years ago the collective leadership of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, which includes two outstanding people – the Great Leader Kim Il Sung, and the Beloved Administrator Kim Jong Il, son of the Great Leader, ordered the construction of three tunnels leading straight from North to South Korea.

The tunnels were designed so that up to thirty thousand troops, a lot of light and medium tanks and other combat hardware could travel to the other side through each of them in just one night.

Taking into account the fact that Seoul, the capital of the Republic of Korea, is situated a mere forty kilometres from the demarcation line, under which the excavation effort was actively in progress inspired by the ideas of Marxism, Leninism and Chuchae, there was a real danger that one fine day Father and Son could quickly take over the big city which accommodates over fifty percent of the South Korean industries and up to ninety percent of information and computer centres.

Decisive technological assistance was rendered to the North Korean side by a large Swedish firm – one of those European firms which, feigning disgust, had assisted Hitler, supplied the Lybian fuehrer Muammar Qaddafi with nerve gas, built a nuclear facility for Saddam Hussein and has always been ready to supply any client with anything if the client is willing to pay in good currency.

However, something very characteristically socialist happened at the time when the bulldozers with silenced motors were crossing the border in their underground march to the South and the North Korean airborne troops, easily the world's largest contingent of paratroopers, were finishing training to destroy the "citadel of capitalism" on the Korean peninsula. After much thinking, the chief of the construction project defected to the South together with his family, thus becoming the first person to travel the tunnel to the other side. He left the tunnel through one of the probe holes

The Great Leader, Comrad Kim Il Sung, is giving administrative directions while visiting the Sambon agricultural cooperative in the Pyongwan district

Photo and caption from the magazine Korea (North Korea)

near a peaceful South Korean village and took advantage of the fact that real socialism had not changed the Korean language into anything different from what it had been in the pre-Communist era. He asked for political asylum and was granted it immediately after he told the South Korean authorities that the bright future was already crawling into South Korea through the three deep tunnels.

South Korean engineer troops started digging short tunnels to meet with their North Korean compatriots. Operation Tunnel was frustrated.

The construction of the tunnels began in the early 1980s. It was at that time that Kim Il Sung added two more projects to the gargantuan tunnel effort: development of North Korea's own nuclear weapons and a grandiose plan for the unification of the Koreas under his wise guidance.

An underground passage, nuclear weapons and an olive branch were a rather strange package, but as one North Korean journalist noted in New York, "It's dialectics, comrades." These words were all he uttered during his American tour, despite American journalists' energetic efforts to squeeze at least something out of him. He also answered the question about Kim Il Sung's health, saying, "It is naturally very good."

Kim Il Sung's health is not bad. Of the two great proletarian leaders still alive and in power in this world (Kim Il Sung and Fidel Castro) the creator of Chuchae and the Chollima movement – "self-reliance and stunningly rapid progress" – Kim Il Sung looks healthier and stronger than the Cuban revolutionary, although the latter is about fifteen years younger. A specialized institute with a staff of sixty doctors and many nurses and other personnel is growing exceptionally pure vegetables for the Leader and treating him with essences of snake venom and mountain herbs, doing everything possible to allow Korea, unlike the revisionist USSR, to celebrate the centenary of the living Genius, Father and Teacher.

Seriously speaking, Kim Il Sung is a greater phenomenon than he is portrayed by North Korea's funny propaganda intended for foreign consumption. Those who have studied the Korean question, visited North Korea and regularly read the North Korean press are invariably shocked by the Orwellian character of the society that Kim Il Sung created. Every family has a flat in North Korea – a small modest accommodation for life. One of the five families occupying a storey in an apartment building is to inform the authorities what the other four are doing and saying every week. However, some freedom is there: the other four families are free to inform the authorities about the fifth one without fearing anything.

In a society like this people develop sincere and even exalted unanimity by the third generation. They love Big Brother!

"Do you love Great Kim Il Sung?" Prof. Nam, laboratory director at the Pyongyang Medical Institute asked me. I looked into the eye of that well-educated and respectable man of 60 and realized, to my utter horror, that he was absolutely sincere.

"Well, you know..:" I mumbled.

"That's quite natural, any intelligent person loves President Kim. I have seen confirmations of this even in such reactionary countries as Norway and Italy," the professor assured me.

Today the country, whose development remains on the level reached by the rest of the world in the early 1950s, is preparing for the final and decisive battle: "We'll change forthwith the old conditions and..."

The catastrophe that has befallen communism all over the vast expanses stretching from the Oder to the Pacific has frightened Kim Il Sung, but has not crushed him. The few North Korean emigrants, mostly former members of the military and political elite of North Korea, agree that Kim Il Sung is not only clever, talented and infinitely cynical, but has an absolute faith in his being the last true follower and disciple of "the great cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

His own society, which has already created a primitive but all-embracing brand of socialism, is unanimous in the conviction that there is nothing better and happier than the life they live.

"We live without envying anyone in the world," the whole of North Korea sings as a morning prayer.

The disintegration of the world system of socialism makes old but active Kim Il Sung take serious and urgent measures to shore up his citadel and safeguard its future.

"At his age, wisdom comes from the experience of past achievements," said Choe Park Yu, a strategy analyst for the Yonsei University, Seoul. "In 1950, shortly before his decisive aggression against the helpless republic in the South, from which all US troops had already been withdrawn, Kim Il Sung addressed us and the world, presenting a far-reaching plan for the peaceful reunification of the Koreas. Our country was offered a lot of smiles and all kinds of concessions. Meanwhile, his troops were already approaching the border."

According to US nuclear proliferation studies and other information, North Korea has approached the production of its own nuclear weapons.

Despite the impressive, even brilliant economic progress of South Korea, North Korea remains stronger militarily."

"The South Korean army was engaged in politics and stupid power struggles for far too long," I was once told by Kim Dae Jung, the leader of the South Korean opposition, a dissident repressed by many military dictatorships and a person whose friendship I highly value, "Now that we at last live in a democracy and the Army has no opportunity to interfere in politics or economy, the Army has increased its fighting efficiency. After some years Kim Il Sung will be no threat for us."

Will Kim Il Sung agree to grant these "some years" to South Korea? Using the good relations with China and the Soviet Union, Kim Il Sung continues to prepare for Korean unification on his terms, in spite of the fact that the Koreas have recently become UN members, thus getting full recognition from the world community.

The founder of the world's only communist dynasty, the Great Leader wants to make the whole peninsula his legacy to his son, a graduate of an East German military academy in the times when East Germany was Europe's North Korea.

Now that economic relations between Soviet republics and South Korea are thriving, the interest of the Soviet foreign policy is in breaking the useless military and economic alliance with the medieval monster whose teaching is the feudal variant of Stalinism. Meanwhile Russia and other republics have a stake in good relations with Japan and South Korea.

Kim Il Sung is not worth an alliance. Moreover, one day he may draw its neighbours into a senseless and cruel war.

OTTAWA

New people in New York

America welcomes the independence of former Soviet republics, but fears that the parade of sovereignties in the USSR may go too far

Immediately after George Bush met new Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin in the spacious hall on the 35th floor of the New York Waldorf-Astoria Hotel where American presidents traditionally stay while visiting New York, American and Soviet journalists were given a chance to take a picture of the president and the foreign minister chatting on French rococo settee. An American colleague's heroic attempt to ask Bush a question was ignored: the president was getting ready to meet the representative of Iceland.

The Soviet foreign minister volunteered to satisfy the newsmen's curiosity in the nearby room where a small speaker's platform with some microphones was erected.

Answering my question whether the Soviet minister and the US president discussed the role and the place of the Soviet federal centre in current international policies, Boris Pankin said:

"Naturally. This problem was the centrepiece of our discussion today. I assured Mr President that we have firmly chosen the way, the central structures for the transitional period have been formed and are actively working and there is no need to wait for any concrete decisions. It is necessary to act energetically and provide the USSR with immediate humanitarian aid and medium-term loans. I repeated my observation that the declarations of independence of eight republics in just two weeks was not a flight from the Union but a flight from the threat of totalitarianism reflected in the August putsch..."

So far it is difficult to say whether the Soviet minister's assurances were convincing enough for the president, the American nation and the international community. US political and business quarters are baffled by the statements of some representatives of republics, Russia in particular, to the effect that the interrepublican economic agreement, even if it is signed, will remain a scrap of paper, while each republic will be fighting its way to happiness alone. There are justifiable fears that under such conditions, the Soviet Union's progress to a free market economy may be even slower. In this situation it is difficult to count on serious Western assistance. However, some hope is still there: the Centre's clear-cut stance is well known and America took very seriously Premier Ivan Silayev's warning that winter is just around the corner.

Drawing by Alexander Mitnik

The grandiose spectacle of the disintegration of the Soviet empire and the emergence of new Union structures has now moved to New York and is being watched by the spell-bound international audience at the United Nations.

One of the first acts of the current 46th UN General Assembly was the solemn ceremony of admitting new members. The delegations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania occupied their seats in the General Assembly for the first time. One cannot say that the political activity of the ex-members of the the former League of Nations is very visible, but their representatives were welcomed by the US president, the Soviet foreign minister and representatives of many other countries.

The Soviet delegation at the current General Assembly included the foreign ministers of Kyrghyzstan (former Kirghizia), Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan. This is not a new practice and heads of republican foreign ministries have to wait in sort of a line to get a place in the Soviet GA delegation. I asked Muratbek Imanaliyev, Foreign Minister of Kyrghyzstan, if the role of republican foreign ministers changed after their republics declared independence.

"In the past our position at the General Assembly was that of members of the Soviet delegation. At this General Assembly we act as foreign ministers of sovereign states. In line with the decisions of the extraordinary congress of people's deputies of the USSR we have the mandate of our governments to study the question of our republics' membership in the United Nations. We are going to

meet the UN leadership and members of the Security Council. In my opinion this question can be solved, provided there is enough time and concerted action on the part of the republics. We are receiving great help from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR
and Soviet missions in the USA. We are studying the position of Western and developing countries and their vision of Union republics as international entities. The international community is showing a favourable attitude towards us. However, the very first questions asked by foreign governments and diplomats are what will be the form of the new commonwealth of sovereign states, which new documents will be signed and what states will choose to join the renovated Union. So far, neither we nor they have the answers..."

"Evidently, the difference is that unlike them, we cannot wait..."

"I do not think the passive stance of foreign countries can be justified now. It seems to me that the international community can and must produce a positive influence on the economic and political processes underway in this country. The recognition – even a gradual one – of new sovereign states as international entities would be an important step on their part. Such recognition would facilitate the formation of a commonwealth of these states, by helping solve the territorial and other disputes between them."

The Ukraine and Byelorussia are founding members of the UN, but with the new independence and the transition to new forms of joint structures in the former Union they have to seek ways to conduct their own foreign policies, albeit on common and mutually-agreed principles.

The American visit of Leonid Kravchuk, Chairman of the Ukrainian parliament, became a historic event for the Ukraine. It has become the first visit of the Ukrainian leader to the United States, counting out the farcial visit of two republican premiers to one General Assembly in the time of Khrushchev.

President Bush received Leonid Kravchuk in the White House. The meeting was reminiscent of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Washington, but due to the radically changed situation in the Soviet Union, the negotiations were of a different character. The talks with the Ukrainian leader reflected the White House's recognition of the new realities in the Soviet Union where the decisive say now belongs to republics. At the same time the US administration made no secret of the fact that it was interested in the preservation of the Union structures for the management of general problems, including military, foreign policy, and economic ones.

Bush said the Ukraine had a special place in the hearts of Americans, promised technological aid and a Peace Corps programme that had often been the target of attacks by Soviet propaganda. Later a State Department spokesman explained that the White House meeting did not signify US recognition of the Ukraine, but was an element of US contacts with Soviet people at all levels – in Moscow and the republics.

It was not coincidental that in their speeches at the General Assembly the US president and the Soviet foreign minister expressed concern about the swelling wave of nationalism.

Speaking of the challenges mankind faced in the desire to secure peace and prosperity after the Cold War and the resumption of history, George Bush warned: "In Europe and in Asia, nationalist passions have flared anew, challenging borders, straining the fabric of international society."

America welcomes new sovereign states, but fears an upsurge of economic egoism or the emergence of new dictatorships.

Evgeny Rusakov,
our own correspondent

NEW YORK

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SECRET SERVICES

"Neighbours" separate

Appointed chief of the Soviet intelligence service by a presidential decree, Academician Yevgeny Primakov immediately moved from his Kremlin office to the one guaranteed against "bugging" and wire-tapping in the new office block built for the KGB's First Directorate in South-West Moscow.

Gates does not envy Primakov

The CIA's Robert Gates, whom President Bush wishes to see as the chief of his intelligence department, went to the Senate in the hope of convincing American legislators that he was the right man for the job. The candidate for the CIA directorship was thoroughly examined by Senators, who had summoned his colleagues – experts in the spheres of intelligence and international relations – to air their opinions about him. Although many experts and Senators said they did not think Gates qualified for the post, and dwelt in detail on Gates' shortcomings in front of TV cameras which cast the Senate hearing live nationwide, President Bush's choice would hardly have agreed to change places with President Gorbachev's appointee, who had been spared the unpleasant procedure of parliamentary screening.

The new CIA head will also have it hard, of course. The recent changes in the Soviet Union have all but put the CIA "out of business." Its problems, however, are nothing as compared with what the new chief of our political intelligence service – now an independent agency – is up against. The first, and the main question is: who will this agency work for?

The KGB as such is no more. All its armed units, border guards included, have been handed over to the Defence Ministry, the special communications department and certain task forces are now subordinate directly to the Kremlin, and the Republics' state security committees no longer take their orders from Moscow's Lubyanka Square. In a display of local patriotism, they started switching their allegiance to the authorities of their respective republics as early as last year. This process is now nearing completion. As Russia's KGB is hastily assuming control of what used to be the national security system all over its vast territory, Vadim Bakatin's domain has shrunk to the gloomy buildings in the above-mentioned Lubyanka Square, with their uniformed and plainclothes occupants.

The Soviet intelligence service becomes an independent agency. What remains of the KGB?

The political – or, as those in the KGB call it, external – intelligence service has suffered less than the other KGB Directorates because it consisted of the Moscow headquarters and "stations" scattered all over the world. So far this service has lost only the cooperation of the Republican State Security Committees' First Directorates, which played a secondary role in carrying out intelligence operations and which supplied personnel for the KGB headquarters.

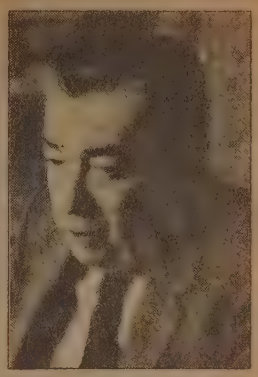
A concerted intelligence effort?

The new leaders of the former Union Republics are ambitious enough to want intelligence agencies of their own. The provisions made for the Republics to have their representatives on Soviet embassy and consulate staffs, the quotas of seats offered them by the UN and other international organizations, give them a real opportunity to form an intelligence network of their own abroad, even though a small one. The Republics' leaders will have nothing against receiving intelligence reports from Moscow, but even if the sealed envelopes containing them arrive from day to day, they will detract little from the recipients' distrust of Moscow – the other capitals will always suspect that something is being withheld from them.

It would be possible, of course, to form a joint intelligence board, with all the republics represented in it, and to call on the republics to pool their efforts. However, the Republics' interests are drifting ever farther apart, and it is hard to expect a consensus in such a sensitive sphere. So the new intelligence service may find itself in a precarious financial position: it will get as much money as the Republics choose to give it. And the Republics are not likely to be too generous. The appointment of Yevgeny Primakov, one of the firm supporters of President Gorbachev and, consequently, one of those who want a strong centre, goes to show that the President wishes to keep that service under his control.

Will Russia's White House object to that? Quite obviously President Gorbachev makes all his post-putsch appointments following consultations with President Yeltsin; consequently, Russia's au-

Vadim Bakatin. What is left of the omnipotent KGB?



Yevgeny Primakov. Intelligence is no substitute for clever policy

thorities welcome the establishment of the Soviet "Central Intelligence Agency." Russia's KGB may not even set up an intelligence service of its own. State Secretary Gennady Burbulis has already announced that Russia will be the legal successor of the Soviet Union. The Russian White House, probably, thinks that this will happen promptly enough, in which case it will put the intelligence department under "Russia's jurisdiction" with habitual ease.

Leonid Shebarshin, the ex-chief of the First Directorate of the KGB, assured journalists that the budget of the Soviet external intelligence service was very small. He did not sound too convincing; exact figures are needed so that the public can judge for itself. All we know is that the KGB paid millions of dollars to its agents who had access to classified information in the United States, and that neither parliament nor the government bothered to find out whether those secrets were really worth that much.

From intelligence service to the dock

The KGB was able to gather intelligence information all over the world and to carry out semi-military or subversive operations, because the function of our intelligence service was not only to ferret out other countries' secrets, but also to influence the political situation in this or that country. KGB agents "distinguished themselves" in Budapest, Prague and Kabul, and committed a large number of political assassinations and other acts of terrorism.

The CIA's record is largely the same. However, in the mid-seventies, this policy was revised. The Frank Church commission put great effort into revealing the gory details of the CIA's "active operations." The CIA feared that making its secrets public would undermine national security. Actually, that resulted in a new concept of intelligence service: Washington realized that semi-military, terrorist actions, which cost so much, were counterproductive.

The main functions of the intelligence service are to get the precise picture of world developments, to reveal the intentions of the countries, with whom relations are important to Moscow, and to forecast the progress of critical situations in the world. It would be naive to hope, of course, that the intelligence department will give up active operations altogether. However, control exercised over the department's activity should be up to the US level. The CIA's Iran-Contras operation, carried on with the approval of the White House, was exposed by the American press; the Senate had it stopped, and those responsible landed in the dock. Had our own intelligence service been under such strict control, Yevgeny Primakov would have probably found its headquarters empty of staff.

The most important form of control to be exercised over the intelligence service should be a legislative one. In the space of a year the CIA sends thousands of secret reports to Congress and holds hundreds of briefings for Senators and Congressmen. This new practice has resulted from several inquiries made by Congress into the CIA's activity, and from a tough budgetary policy: the CIA gets no money to finance a "project" until a Senate committee is satisfied that the "project" is worth the expense. As distinct from the USSR Supreme Soviet Defence and State Security Committee, whose members are partial to the KGB, the US Senate Committee on Intelligency is composed of Senators highly critical of the CIA.

However, the Supreme Soviet itself is steadily losing importance. Will it retain enough power to exert an influence on the intelligence service?

Some are of the opinion that our country no longer needs an intelligence service. There is no external threat to us, so what's the use of making great sacrifices and resorting to dubious methods? And besides, most of the information essential to the state comes from diplomats and scientists.

Behind the embassy façade

No major state has given up its intelligence service so far – for reasons more important than fear of losing face. There are large amounts of vital information which only secret services can obtain. Moreover, a government cannot rely on one source of information only. The traditional Soviet practice of the Ambassador and the KGB agent using the embassy as a front coordinating the coded messages they dispatched to Moscow in order to avoid discrepancies did the Soviet government a bad turn. Over the past few years the CIA has been seeing to it that several versions of a development be reported to the President rather than just one version which appears more credible than the others. In the highly militarized KGB such "looseness" in compiling official reports was out of the question. It is in the interests of the state to make the new intelligence service a civilian institution in order to bring elements of scientific research into its analytical work.

The KGB's First Directorate had a strong appeal to many young men for mundane rather than romantic reasons – not because it promised romantic adventures, but because its officers worked abroad for the most part. Such a utilitarian attitude, combined with the fact that the access to the First Directorate was restricted to "well-connected" applicants, detracted from the efficiency of our intelligence service.

Yevgeny Primakov will probably have a hard time selecting new personnel. Talented young scientists will be wary of cooperating with the KGB's successor. Young climbers will wonder whether a post in that department is a passport to frequent trips abroad. When Foreign Minister Boris Pankin said there was no more room in his ministry for KGB men, he probably meant professional "personnel inspectors," who kept a close watch on diplomats. As far as our embassies and consulates are concerned, he will have to reserve places for intelligence officers there. This is common practice, especially since Soviet secret agents will be deprived of other covers and will no longer be able to pose as foreign correspondents or members of international organizations.

The division of the KGB should be accompanied by formulating a realistic view of the intelligence service, which has a more modest role to play in society than most people think it does. Intelligence is not a substitute for clever policy, it is merely an element of it. We are not to expect divine revelations from intelligence service.

Leonid Mlechin

Our man in Kabul

Shots fired in the House of the Nation

Alexander Morozov

On September 11, 1979, Ariana's VIP flight aircraft with Taraki on board was closing in on Kabul. The airport was festively decorated with red flags carrying Khalq's emblem and countless images of Taraki. The entire revolutionary establishment had come out to meet him. Special groups of loud-mouthed hailers were ready to cry out "Welcome!" to Taraki.

The plane appeared above the horizon. With chassis extended, it was about to land on the airfield. The crowds issued welcoming noises. But the plane suddenly soared up again, barely missing the top of a mountain ridge.

The next morning the KGB intelligence post in Kabul got an explanation from an informant in Amin's entourage: the landing was delayed in order to scare Taraki. After the plane successfully landed ten minutes later, Amin was the first — as he was supposed to be — to greet Taraki as he descended from the plane. He told Taraki that he had scarcely managed to thwart an "enemy" attempt on Taraki's life. But he somehow failed to identify the "enemy".

The obstinate Amin

A month before that incident, in August 1979, Moscow sent a request: "See whether there are any serious frictions between Taraki and Amin and whether there is somebody as strong as or stronger than Amin among the PDPA." The KGB intelligence post in Kabul was unanimous: Taraki was a figure-head, while Amin was the one who ruled the roost. It is advisable that Amin be replaced with another strong personality within the PDPA or stripped of some of the powers he had usurped.

However, this opinion wasn't shared either by the Ambassador or the CPSU and military advisers or the KGB representative. They asured Moscow that there were no differences between Taraki and Amin and advised Moscow to make its stake on the latter.

The murder of Amin's agent Major Tarun was followed by the assassination of Taraki and the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan

Moscow's line of reasoning was as follows: since Taraki and Amin are inseparable friends, the former can, if urged, put the latter in his proper place. Head of KGB intelligence Kryuchkov and the then KGB chief Andropov shared that opinion. Apparently Taraki was advised accordingly during his stopover in Moscow en route from Havana to Kabul, September 9, 1979. Acting as an interpreter at the conference between Taraki and Andropov was a KGB intelligence officer who had many times before clandestinely met with Taraki and Karmal.

Soon afterwards I received a short letter from that officer in which he wrote that he had advised Taraki about Amin. "Be prepared to see the result," he wrote in conclusion. It could mean anything: an attempt on Amin's life or assassination of Taraki. But one thing was clear: Moscow urged Taraki to put Amin in his place, with help from Ambassador Puzanov, Andropov's representative General Ivanov, and General Pavlovsky who represented the Ministry of Defence under Ustinov.

In mid-September, Puzanov, Ivanov, Pavlovsky, and Chief Adviser General Gorelov, who had earned distinction in Czechoslovakia in 1968, began shuttling between the Soviet Embassy and Taraki's residence known as the House of the Nation, under an armed escort from the KGB special force Zenit. The contents of their talks with Taraki and Amin was a carefully guarded secret. However, the faces

Each Afghan leader was welcomed in Mos

Last instalment. Continued from Nos 38-40

of the Ambassador and the three generals betrayed that the "conversations" failed to bring the desired result.

I knew that the quartet of dignitaries wished only to curb Amin's aspirations to control the Defence Ministry and the State Information Service, Afghanistan's counterpart of the Soviet KGB which the latter also helped build. They didn't wish to strip Amin of all power. But control over the armed forces and secret services was vital for Amin, and he viewed the talks at Taraki's palace with growing concern.

When state ministers brandish guns

On the afternoon of September 13, the Soviet Embassy had a surprise visit: the disfavoured ministers and the state security chief, all of whom Amin suspected to be involved with the CIA – Gulabzoi, Wantajar, Sarwari, and Mozduryar – arrived armed and with guards. They urged a meeting with General Ivanov of the KGB. The four men warned General Ivanov of Amin's alleged anti-revolutionary plot. They claimed to possess irrefutable evidence that Amin was a CIA agent.

General Ivanov was afraid to hold a long conference with the foursome. He quickly got rid of them, sending them away and suggesting that they put everything they knew about the matter on paper, and that their written evidence would be retrieved the following morning from Gulabzoi's apartment by a Soviet Embassy official whom he knew personnaly.

The next morning, September 14, a KGB operative Ilyin called on Gulabzoi's place where he encountered the four ministers who had pistols on them and four submachine guns stacked in a corner of the room. Sarwari was speaking with Taraki on the phone and trying to convince the latter that Amin was conspiring against him. He also suggested that the four ministers come and protect Taraki, the nation's leader, with their weapons. Taraki rejected the offer.

While Soviet advisers briefed Afghans on the advantages of socialism, Afghan children continued to study the Koran

Ilyin's other mission was to convince the ministers, in the name of the Soviet Embassy's top officials, to pay no more visits to General Ivanov.

"But can we come to your place, Comrade Ilyin, if we need to?" asked Gulabzoi, and Ilyin surprised himself by giving his consent. He took the records of the Afghans' information and drove to the Embassy. On the way there, he called home and spoke with his wife.

The memo from the four Afghan ministers cited 10 arguments irrefutably, as Gulabzoi thought, proving the existence of Amin's contacts with the CIA as well as Kabul's criminal underworld. The memo mentioned concrete dates and venues of meetings between Amin and certain "CIA officers". The ministers claimed that such meetings had been continued on a regular basis since before the revolution. After the revolution, Amin allegedly received US officers at his Foreign Ministry office which had anti-bugging devices supplied by the Soviet KGB.

At about 2 p.m., Ilyin's wife called the Embassy and broke the news: the four Khalqists had arrived at the Ilyins' place. Ilyin reported the incident to Col. Bogdanov (head of the KGB advisers for Afghanistan's secret services) and got an order to go and see what the four men were up to.

When Ilyin came to his villa he was surprised to find absolute stillness there and no sign of anybody's presence in the house: only a curtain moved behind the window pane. (Even the dog didn't bark his welcome, locked away, as it turned out, in the garage). Ilyin went inside and was approached by Gulabzoi dressed in traditional Pushtun garb and carrying a submachine gun.

"We couldn't take the risk of staying at our homes. Amin ordered to have us arrested. So we were facing a choice: either to fight there to the death or to seek refuge here. We opted for the latter, because we can't be of any use if we are killed. But we can still do a good turn to our Soviet friends. We won't resign from our stuggle until Amin and his gang are done away with. We hope the Soviet leaders see our motives and help us."

There were three other similarly clad Afghans sitting on the floor in the lobby. All had submachine guns and one assault rifle among them. Ilyin identified two as Sarwari and Wantajar, but the third man wasn't Mozduryar.

"Meet Eqbal, airman, our friend we trust," said Gulabzoi. "We arrived here unseen. Our Toyota (which Comrade Sarwari took from President Daud back in April

s cordially as his predecessor

When Soviet troops invaded Kabul, Amin was already dead, but a doctored photo published by the *Kabul Times* shows him sitting beside a Soviet minister

Taraki's assassins were arrested and tried under Babrak Karmal's rule

1978 and has kept unused under lock and key at one of his relative's ever since) is in your garage."

Major Tarun's death

While Ilyin was conversing with his unexpected guests, the three generals and Ambassador Puzanov took off for yet another meeting at the House of the Nation. Taraki asked Amin to attend it as well. However, the latter refused point blank, citing the possibility of an attempt on his life as an excuse. But yielding to Taraki's insistence he agreed and demanded guarantees of his safety from Puzanov. The latter gave him the guarantee, speaking to Amin over the phone. After some time, two cars pulled up in front of Taraki's official residence. Two of Amin's bodyguards went in first and began to ascend the staircase leading to the next floor. Seconds later, Amin made his appearance from the other car and went in as well. But he didn't get far before he heard a burst of fire from an automatic weapon. Amin was the first to dash outside. Keeping close to the ground and with an arm across his stomach, he ran up to his car, helped a bodyguard wounded in the arm inside, got in after him, and barked out an order to the driver. The engine roared up, and the car sped towards the gate.

Major Daud Tarun, Amin's loyal aide, was on the staircase dying from wounds. Tarun's death was followed by Taraki's arrest and brutal murder. After that, Brezhnev, Andropov, Ustinov, Gromyko, and Ponomaryov decided to replace Amin with Babrak Karmal. That decision could be carried out only through military intervention...

Back in his residence, Amin called Taraki on the phone and accused him and the Soviet Ambassador of an attempt to assassinate him, Amin. Taraki tried to excuse his guards' actions saying that they were unaware of Amin's arrival, as he, Taraki, forgot to inform them, and they had no choice but to act in accordance with instructions "to keep everyone out."

On the morning of September 15, Taraki was arrested, and Amin personally informed the Soviet Ambassador of it. Amin also said: "Comrade Secretary-General Taraki is kept in very good conditions, and if Comrade Puzanov wants to meet Taraki, this can be arranged any time."

Ambassador Puzanov sent a "flash" message to Moscow. He didn't ask Moscow's permission to see the arrested PDPA Central Committee Secretary-General and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Instead he wrote: "It's all over with Taraki, the stake must be made on Amin."

None of the Soviets saw Taraki, the founder of the "fraternal Marxist-Leninist" People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, after September 14, 1979. Taraki was betrayed and forgotten. Later he was altogether discarded from the history of that Party and Afghanistan. None among the occupants of the CPSU Central Committee headquarters in the Staraya Ploshchad even gave a thought to the "internationalist duty of Soviet communists".

Kabul and foreign diplomatic missions there were full of rumours about the aborted attempt on Amin's life and about the disappearance of three Afghan ministers and the chief of the secret police. The press and broadcasting stations kept mum about the incident in the House of the Nation. The press continued to feature Taraki's portraits and to comment on his recent trip to Havana and Moscow for several days afterwards. Amin circulated a rumour that the four simply flew to China and even promoted that version in his conversation with Puzanov who feigned ignorance of the matter.

Amin gathered what remained from the PDPA Central Committee for a plenary meeting at which he declared himself the Party's Secretary-General, September 16, 1979.

Amin described in great detail, for the sake of the congregation, Taraki's attempt on his life. He emphasized the fact that the Soviet Ambassador who had guaranteed Amin's safety was in Taraki's company at the time of the aborted assassination.

The press reported: the Central Committee discussed during its plenary meeting Taraki's request to relieve him from all posts "on grounds of poor health", granted it, and "elected Comrade Hafizullah Amin Secretary-General of the PDPA Central Committee in a unanimous vote." We Soviets are very familiar with such formulas and their implications.

The Toyota: sawn apart and buried

On September 17, General Gorelov and his deputy for political education, General Zaplatin, arrived at the Soviet Embassy exicted. They told Ambassador Puzanov that "Comrade Amin in person" had informed them of his election. They hugged Taraki's murderer and exchanged hearty kisses with him. I believed those two generals when they told the press later that they had spoken up against the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. They knew that the Soviet troops would remove Amin from power, and that they would be out of place in Afghanistan without the "dear and much-esteemed Comrade Amin". In fact, the two generals were recalled to Moscow for their "political shortsightedness", soon after the beginning of Soviet intervention.

On the same day, September 17, Ambassador Puzanov paid Amin a visit and congratulated him on his election to the highest posts in the Party and the state.

Returning to the Embassy, Puzanov called a meeting of the senior diplomats and told them the following: "We are facing a fait accompli: Amin has come to power. Taraki failed to withstand Amin's push for power. Frankly, Taraki was a weakling and a dawdler. He never was as good as his word. On the contrary, Amin has always taken our advice. Amin is strong, and we must do business with him and support him. It's a pity Comrade Daud Tarun died, be-

cause he was a true Communist and faithful friend of the Soviet Union."

Two months later Alexander Puzanov was recalled to Moscow, which terminated his Party and diplomatic careers.

In the meantime, all the Soviet ministries and other organizations represented in Kabul started, on order from Moscow, to collect information concerning the situation in Afghanistan and prospects for the future in light of Amin's recent ascent to power.

Responses and assessments from different Afghan circles as well as from foreign diplomats stationed in the country showed the KGB intelligence post in Kabul that Amin's palace revolution should be considered a serious set-back for the Soviet Union. The prognosis made by the KGB intelligence post asserted that Amin's usurpation of power would lead to harsh repressions and, as a reaction, to the activation and consolidation of the opposition. As a result, the revolution and the PDPA could be salvaged only through military intervention, a highly unwelcome step capable of generating a negative reaction worldwide. The situation could be saved only by a timely removal from power of Amin and restoration of unity within the PDPA, as well as a U-turn from repressions to compromise in domestic policy. But it looked like the opportune moment had been lost...

Let's return to the fate of the four Afghan ministers. Later they were smuggled to the USSR and returned to Kabul along with Babrak Karmal.

Puzanov and Soviet generals didn't like the fact that the disfavoured Khalqist ministers remained at Ilyin's villa.

However, the situation around the villa remained calm. The Soviets were at a loss about what should be done with the Afghans and their Toyota. Finally it was decided to relocate the Afghans to a nearby villa occupied by the tough boys from the Zenit squad and to hide the car in the Embassy garage. Everything was done according to plan. Everyone thought that the operation was superb. But today I can't help laughing inwardly, recreating it in my mind and seeing the stupidity: when the car was driven to the Embassy, there were four KGB operatives in it specially chosen for their physical resemblance to the four Afghans! But an empty (but for a driver) car would obviously have aroused less suspicion! Even more stupid was the decision – made high up in the KGB – to detroy the car as material evidence. That decision – prompted by confusion and embarrassment – became a reality with great pains: the car was dismantled, sawn apart and buried in a place not far from the Embassy. If the Afghans ever dig it up they will surely rack their brains about the motives behind the act.

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Nowhere to retreat

Two telephone calls from the Russian White House to the Director of the **independent** Pravda publishing house proved sufficient to prevent issue No. 39 of the Soviet Germans' **independent** newspaper *Neues Leben* from going to press. The pretext for suspension – the paper had published a number of articles which were incorrect from the point of view of those who phoned.

Neues Leben, Soviet Germans' only central newspaper, has a circulation of 66,000 copies. Founded in 1926, its publication was stopped in 1941 together with the abolition of the autonomous republic of Soviet Germans on the Volga River. The publication was renewed in 1957 when they were released from the so-called special settlements. Publication of a national newspaper was designed to demonstrate the profound changes in the destinies of the repressed people. The paper wrote about how easier and merrier life had become for German combine drivers, miners, wood-cutters... The editor-in-chief of the *Neues Leben,* exclusively a pure Russian by birth, was appointed from among the apparat of the CPSU Central Committee. His duty was to make sure that the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Povolzhye Germans was never mentioned in the paper.

In October of 1990 Eduard Schmidt, the fourth editor-in-chief of *NL* and the first ethnic German in this position, decided, together with the whole editorial board and other employees of the paper, to get rid of party supervision. To have its independence officially registered, the paper needed a rich founder able to cover its yearly budget deficit of 300,000 rubles. This role was assumed by the Ulyanovsk industrial association Soyuz (not to be confused with the parliamentary faction known by the same name) with Nikolai Bicker as its president. In the summer of 1990 Soyuz received from the Russian government 22 million rubles to be spent on creating German settlements in the Ulyanovsk Region. These millions were a payoff to Germans for withdrawal of their demands to restore their rights.

Paper millions

At that time the confrontation which took place in the Saratov Region between the society of Soviet Germans Vozrozhdeniye (Revival) who demanded that the republic be restored and the local population which was called upon by the Party and Soviet leaders to struggle against the "German domination" seemed impossible to overcome. The high-ranking Moscow officials coming from Saratov (which, as well as Dnepropetrovsk, was considered a factory of Party cadres) managed to convince the country's higher political leadership of the impossibility to restore the republic to its former boundaries. They were made to lobby against the German republic not so much by Volga patriotism as by an elementary instinct of self-preservation.

The leaders of Vozrozhdeniye, ignorant of the real situation in the Union leadership, were too hasty to declare that, in restoring the republic, they would take stock of some regions of the former Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The Revivalists could hardly guess what they were ready to encroach on. Out of the 3.4 billion rubles invested in the land improvement in Povolzhye, 430 million rubles disappeared (this is known officially as "the scope of uncompleted construction"). Rumours had it that numerous criminal offense were committed in Saratov.

They are deprived of everything, even their newspaper

In spite of a bad shortage of manpower and depopulated villages in Povolzhye, on various pretexts Germans were denied the right to return there. And here the residents of Ulyanovsk, neighbours of those of Saratov, realized that the Volga River, so dear to the heart of a Volga German, also flows through their region. Besides, they needed the reliable workforce which through sheer enthusiasm and nostalgia for the motherland of their ancestors, might revive the

***NL* office defenders barricading the door** *Photo by the author*

agriculture in the region. The Germans as such were hardly thought of, rather a possible aid from Germany was.

The millions granted to the Soyuz proved to be a large amount only on paper. They were not backed by funds, or materials, or machinery. Germans didn't consider themselves authorized to demand all that from their hospitable hosts and decided to create a building industry of their own. Some saw it as a threat to national security.

In October 1990 the Ulyanovsk Regional Executive Committee suddenly arrested Soyuz's bank accounts. On coming to the REC Bicker was met by two KGB men who bluntly suggested his signing a pledge of cooperation... Soyuz's funds were unfrozen. N.Bicker told the editorial board about his encounter with the KGB officers, trying to convince his listeners of the complete innocence of his signature. However, subsequent developments lead one to doubt N.Bicker's having retained his independence of decision making.

In October 1990 the *Neues Leben* was registered in the USSR State Committee for the Press. The paper became rather outspoken with regard to the problems of Germans and the attempts by the state and party authorities to check the German movement. The opponents were referred to by name.

For the time being the founder did not interfere with the political line the newspaper followed. But beginning with last March, after the Union government banned the Congress of Soviet Germans, the Soyuz's former financial accuracy faltered. Functionaries of the German movement subjected to criticism by the paper began complaining to Bicker. On Friday, September 20, Bicker signed the order of dismissal of Editor-in-Chief Eduard Schmidt. (In keeping with the law on the pess, Schmidt could dismiss the editor-in-chief, providing he had the consent from the association's board of directors, which he did not.) On Monday, September 23, a group of fighters hired by Bicker which identified itself as "the Russian Guards" raided Schmidt's barricaded office. On that day the editor-in-chief and his few adherents managed to defend the office and their right to publish the paper. But, when the issue had already been signed, the director of the publishing house received a telephone call from the White House...

Sibiria instead of Germany?

Unenviable is the destiny of Soviet Germans. At first they were deceived by the Union authorities, later the same policy was practiced by the Russian Federation, though the Russian parliament and government were the Germans' last hope.

The USSR government's State Commission for the Problems of Soviet Germans whose chairman miraculously happened to be V.Gusev, former first secretary of Saratov's regional CPSU committee, confined itself to a "discussion of measures aimed at revival of the culture, language and traditions" instead of working out a programme for restoring the republic. The members of the commission stuck to the CPSU CC's position on that matter – national and cultural autonomy for Soviet Germans instead of statehood.

Having realized the authorities' fraudulence, the society Vozrozhdeniye demanded that the republic be immedeately restored, threatening that otherwise an organized German exodus to the FRG would be resorted to as a measure of political protest.

At this stage the CPSU CC put forward the idea of holding a Congress of Soviet Germans. It was expected to set up an "association" endowed with the functions of a government without a territory. Yet a poll of the delegates to the conference showed that the majority of them favoured the republic's restoration.

The results of the poll were kept secret and the organizing committee, headed by Academician B.Rauschenbach and consisting of the former State Commission's members, suggested to the government that the Congress be postponed. Nobody was worried by the fact that the delegates had already begun gathering. In the best of the pre-*perestroika* traditions those who hadn't yet arrived were removed from planes and trains, those who had already arrived were offered return tickets.

Nevertheless, although the Congress was declared "illegal," a majority of delegates gathered in March and elected a Provisional Council for the restoration of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the Povolzhye Germans. It was agreed not to take any demonstrative steps in order to provide Russia's government with an opportunity to think it over till the autumn.

The CPSU CC resolved not to mark time till Vozrozhdeniye mobilized its 100,000 activists for the extreme form of protest – emigration – or (in the case of an approval by Russia) headed practical activity for the republic's restoration. It was decided to split the German movement by forming an alternative Union of Germans of the USSR. It comprised those who appreciated their good relations with the CPSU CC and vacillated in conformity with the party's line.

The Union which gradually appropriated the right to speak on behalf of all Soviet Germans, though it had never enjoyed their support and had never had a social basis among them, began to oust Vozrozhdeniye from the political scene. Only the members of the official Union began to be invited for talks with the country's leaders.

Thanks to the persistent efforts of the Chairman of the Russia's State Committee for Ethnic Affairs, Leonid Prokopyev, the chances for revival of the German republic on the Volga began to grow by this autumn. It was precisely then that an open struggle for power and influence at the second session of the Congress of Soviet Germans due to be held on October 18-20 began. Since the leaders of the Union of Germans of the USSR now support the idea of restoring the German republic on the Volga, their differences with Revival are barely discernable. The Revivalists seem to believe that Russia's government is prepared to support the policy followed by the late CPSU CC. Answering questions put by a German TV correspondent on September 7, Russia's President qualified as "interesting" the Union's agitation in favour of the Germans remaining where they are at present, i.e. in the places where they had been exiled by Stalin.

A few days later the contents of a talk between B.Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who had come to participate in the CSCE Conference, became known from circles close to the FRG Embassy in Moscow. Yeltsin allegedly said that, because of the Povolzhye residents' negative reaction, the idea of creating a German autonomy in depopulated areas such as on the Amur River, along the Baikal-Amur Main Line, in the northern part of the Sverdlovsk Region is worth considering... The Revivalists tend to see in these pronouncements an influence exercised on the Russian President by his milieu which, evidently, numbers enough influential "people from Saratov."

Silence is golden

Yet Vozrozhdeniye still retained the *Neues Leben*. This is why the president of the association Soyuz signed the order dismissing the former editor-in-chief of *NL* and appointing a new one – Hugo Wormsbecher, a former member of the State Commission.

Wormsbecher suppressed all articles which exposed the Union of Germans of the USSR's schismatic activities, and the unseemly part played in the German movement by the CPSU CC. Wormsbecher promised the staff material prosperity in exchange for loyalty. According to him, he was promised financial aid from Germany...

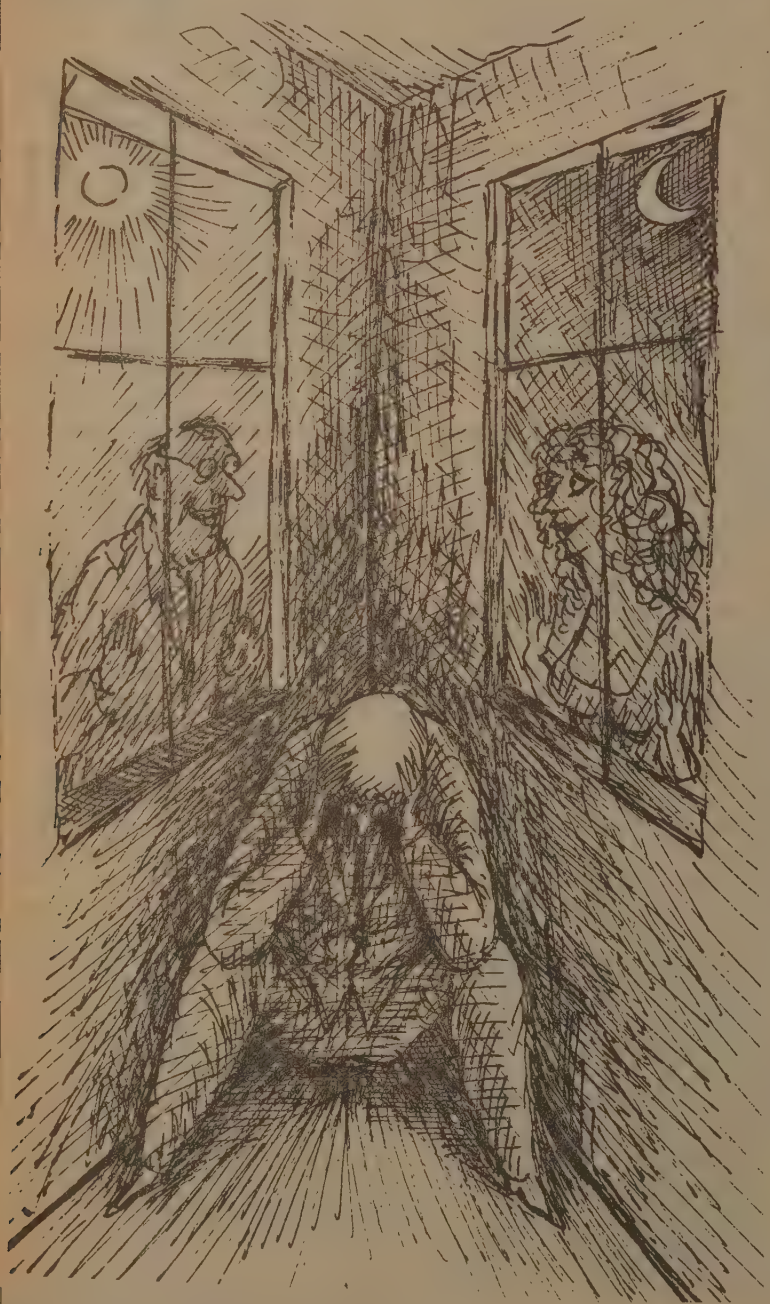
Not one of the *NL* employees dared defend the legally elected editor-in-chief and the associate editors, thus demonstating the psychology prevalent among the Soviet Germans – fear of the power which banished them from their motherland half a century ago, destroyed, according to various assessments, 300 to 800 thousands of them in concentration camps, and which continues even to this day fleecing German emigrants by abnormal customs duties and extorting bribes.

In the meantime, at a recent meeting in Russia's State Committee for Ethnic Affairs Leonid Prokopyev told the leaders of all German movements that he would not abandon his decision to hold the the Congress of Soviet Germans at the appointed time under the aegis of Russia's government. To ensure its success, he suggested the Germans leave aside their quarrels for a while and engage in elaboration of a programme of restoring the republic. Nor did he rule out the possibility that a political statement on the restoration of their republic may be made by one of Russia's leaders even before the Congress.

Konstantin Isakov

No sex on the Lenin Hills, please

The author of the recently published book *Moscow's Sex Life* continues his research in *New Times*



Anatoly Rubinov

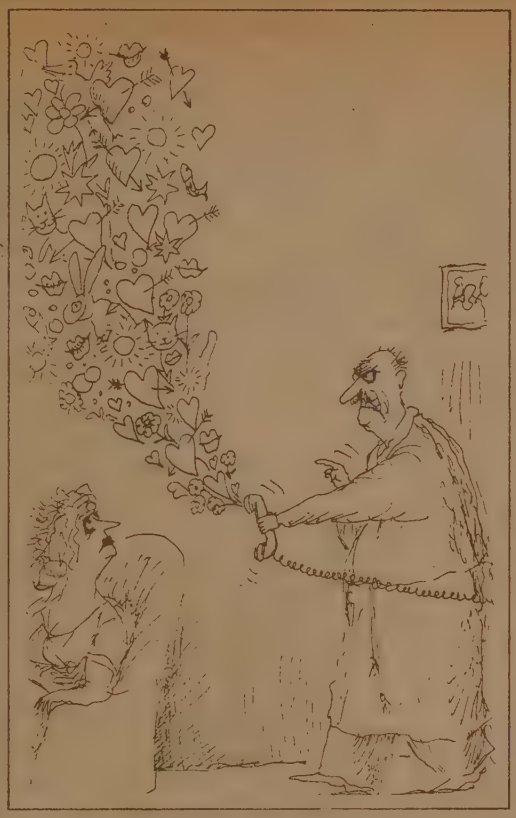
Looking back, one has to admit that the sexual revolution had been prepared well in advance and sexual revolutionaries have always existed. With time, the number of such revolutionaries has grown. The authorities tried to fight back. A year before the end of the war, the Communist Party and the Soviet government, haunted by visions of debauchery brought back by the victorious soldiers from corrupted West, passed a decree on family life. Among other measures, the decree stipulated that couples willing to divorce were to make their intention public and notify the court. Before getting the divorce permit from the court the spouses were to publish an announcement in the local paper specifying the name and address of the divorce initiator and the credentials of the abandoned party. After that newspapers became much more interesting. People started reading them from the back page looking for names of friends and acquaintances or well-known people. Muscovites were jubilant when one fine day the Moscow evening daily, *Vechernyaya Moskva,* carried an announcement saying that the famous singer Klavdiya Ivanovna Shulzhenko was filing for divorce with Vladimir Filippovich Koralli, from whom she had already been separated. This last detail provided fertile ground for rumours. If they had been separated, this meant that one of them had already started a new family, although an illegitimate one, at least pending the court ruling.

The moral corruption was a great financial boost for the papers. Very soon the people who had lost illusions of love formed an invisible line to have their divorce announcements published. Unfortunate spouses could not start a new life until they had been in court and the Moscow public had been informed about the impending divorce. The silent invisible line was moving slowly: two hundred and seventy people each weekday. As a result, papers struck a gold mine.

There were always passionate and impatient lovers who could not wait and were looking for sympathetic editors or journalists to help them jump the line.

In 1965 *Vechernyaya Moskva* carried a divorce announcement on a Saturday when the Classified section was not usually published, in order not to make Muscovites upset for the weekend. The appearance of a lonely announcement on the back page attracted special attention. In the

week's best night, Muscovites came to know the address of the famous musician who "was filing for divorce with V.G.P. living at the same address." The mischievous journalists from *Vechernyaya Moskva* could not wait till 4 p.m. when the newspapers usually went on sale – otherwise they would have given themselves away – no one but newspaper people reads the paper before it is printed, after all. They phoned the poor abandoned V.G.P. and heard her speaking for the first time – previously they had heard only her angelic soprano singing voice. A man's voice ringing with magnanimity confessed his love to the singer, suggested that she should not be unhappy about the divorce and promised to be her loving and caring husband. The woman's beautiful soprano became a shrill mezzo when she heard the proposal, but she did not bang down the receiver, instead she demanded to know the details, gasped, uttered a four-letter word and, learning that the announcement had already been published, cursed: "He's made it, the bastard!"



It turned out later that the call was not the only one the singer got that night. This was not surprising: knowing the address and both names anyone could find the phone number in the telephone directory, under whichever name the number might be registered. The musician and his wife were already quite famous at that time, and whatever life might be, Moscow was never short of jokers: telephones were ringing all night as dozens of men confessed love to the singer and invisible women poured their affection on the musician saying they were ready to become his wife immediately.

The scandal that happened at the address specified in the newspaper remained unknown, but an investigation stormed into the *Vechernyaya Moskva* office as early as Monday morning. A special commission came down to look into the matter. The aim of the commission was to find out who dared break the no-announcements-on-Saturdays rule and thus spoiled Muscovites' good spirits.

Soon, however, the commission had to retreat without stating any verdict. However, one interesting detail was discovered: the announcement was published on Saturday in defiance of all rules after the editor received an insistent demand to that effect from the Minister of Culture, Yekaterina Alekseyevna Furtseva, who contacted him over the special government telephone line. The fact that the minister might have been personally interested in the matter only added to the commission's dismay. The editor confessed that he had received a call from Comrade Furtseva. The minister informed him that she had just spoken with the great musician who was extremely bitter over a family row and wanted to bring his formal marital status in line with the actual one. It seemed that the minister knew the reasons for the family row. In spite of his rather young age, the editor of *Vechernyaya Moskva* was a very clever and experienced man and knew how to talk to authoritative commission. The commission did not get the paper into any trouble, but some clever commission member talked the fiery musician into dropping his divorce suit. Fortunately, it never got to divorce and the couple has lived happily ever since.

Naturally, the story of the famous musician's family has nothing to do with the fact, but it was in 1965 that local newspapers stopped carrying the interesting personal announcements and people's private lives thrived. The statistics said that the number of divorces tripled in one year! When these statistics were first published, the official whose responsibility was to monitor the high morals of the builders of communism nearly had a stroke: over 600,000 families split in 1966 alone. As as result, 1,200,000 builders of communism became lonely and a gigantic number of children found themselves fatherless. When he came across the figure, President Nikolai Viktorovich Podgorny demanded an explanation. Not from the divorcees, though, but from the editor of the popular digest *Sputnik* who had been politically lax enough to allow the publication of such a harmful piece of information. The editors of *Sputnik* were confused and said that as a small digest, *Sputnik* only reprinted articles from other periodicals, and, naturally, all such articles had been officially sanctioned for publication. If the publishing of divorce statistics had been a mistake, the blame was on *Literaturnaya Gazeta* which had been the first to release the information.

President Podgorny contacted *Literaturnaya Gazeta* and told the editor that publication of figures showing instability of the Soviet family was counterproductive for the common cause and played into the hands of the ideological adversaries of the Soviet Union. The editor thanked the President for the invaluable piece of advice, thanked him again and promised to look into the matter. First the editor tongue-lashed the newspaper staff, but the latter put up an effective defence by referring the boss to the journal *Vestnik Statistiki* from which the fatal numbers had been borrowed. Besides, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* people cited the words of the lifetime bachelor Friedrich Engels that divorce was not immoral, what was really immoral was family life without mutual love. The editor frowned severely as he was listening to the explanations, but when he dialed the President's number he started speaking with the coquetry of a lusty village girl who prefers old men. Laying the entire blame on *Vestnik Statistiki*, the editor referred the President to the Engels' words specifying the volume, the page and the line. The President liked the idea of the co-founder of communism and asked the editor to dictate the words to him. Mindful of the President's capacities, the editor dictated very slowly, carefully pronouncing the words whose spelling might be a problem for Podgorny.

This mention of the opinion of the com-

munist classic who never married himself was opportune: in 1967 the number of divorces increased and in 1968 the trend continued. The Soviet Union was becoming the world's most advanced nation as far as divorces were concerned. However, according to Engels the impression was that this country was getting rid of immorality faster than any other nation...

... Meanwhile the unmarried women of the Land of Soviets developed a passion for tourism, hoping to find a match during long cross-country walks. Many a lonely woman's illusions crashed during tourist trips! When they came to the assembly point, they were surprised to discover that the fellow tourists with whom they were to walk, climb, cross, make fires and sing to the guitar, were predominantly female. Thirty-something lady tourists walked and climbed and crossed and rode not daring to reveal their disillusionment, and, as true optimists, sang as loud as they could, although the male voices in the bonfire chorus were weak by themselves. However, one male was always there – the tourism instructor attached to the group. He was usually a spoilt local resident. As women lined up to be registered, the instructor would cast lazy glances first on the woman's face, then on the legs, never bothering to conceal the fact that he was choosing a companion for the coming twenty days...

If the trip goes through the mountains, trade union members climb higher and higher to where there are no roads, only narrow paths and one cabin accomodates all. Tourists start dancing around the cabin, enjoying the pure mountain air and nature, littering the area with empty cans, making a bonfire and singing songs. The more liquor they consume, the merrier the songs become. Then everybody happily crawls into the cabin to sleep. There is no linen and tourists sleep together, fully clothed. When they all lie, the cabin becomes tightly packed with bodies – wives always trying to place their men so that they themselves become a living barrier between them and the next female tourist. As his service commands, the instructor enters the cabin last: he pretends that he does not care about which place to occupy but he had already studied all women in the group and knows perfectly well with whom he will be spending the night – with one adventure seeker or another, or both at once.

Things were much simpler in the case of the so-called weekend tourism, which flourished in the late 1950s. After the 20th Communist Party Congress people started feeling freer and more emancipated and weekend excursions became a discovery. At that time the only day-off in the USSR was Sunday and as a result, on Saturday evenings Moscow railway stations were crammed with women wearing men's clothes and men clad in ladies' sweaters and scarves to keep themselves warm during the cold night. They would leave Moscow from one railway station and return to another. In one day's time they managed to walk dozens of miles learning new songs. The usual Sunday night sight at a Moscow railway station was a circle of tourism-lovers singing a song in defiance of those were not crazy about travelling to see places. Many young people got to know each other thanks to weekend tourism and some of them were even married. However, tourists' marriages were seldom happy: decent married life in Moscow was a far cry from the romanticism of travel where men wore ladies' sweaters ans women were shod in heavy men's boots.

At that time weekend tourism seemed to have a great future. However, it came to an abrupt end after Khrushchev sanctioned the construction of cheap apartment houses in Moscow: the number of separate apartments soared and the popularity of cross-country trips declined. Everybody understood that weekend tourism was for the apartmentless young. In fact, no one swaps a separate apartment, a bathroom and a comfortable bed for dirty clothes, heavy backpacks and enjoying nature.

However, not all sex-seeking Muscovites were in the habit of wandering in search of old churches and abandoned countryside estates. Not all headed for the tiresome walks, bonfires and songs. Smarter young people who had no separate accommodation, used to take short walks together to where the bushes were dense and the grass tall. The police were desperate about those short trips and energetically fought the sinful indulgence. Ignoring other crimes, policemen were closely watching young couples stepping off Moscow buses and heading for the nearest shrubbery in full view. Most probably there had been no formal order instructing the police to combat love-making, but the police were nonetheless vigilantly trying to purge sex from the Moscow region. Their efforts fell flat through and no high moral standards were achieved. The Moscow region was by no means the only area where loving couples exchanged affections. They did it right in Moscow too! In any park, in any garden, and yes, of course!, on the Lenin Hills. Sad as it might be, the hills blessed with the beautiful revolutionary name were the place where no mother would take her children. Picnicking couples developed wild fancies that they were the only people in the world. But the curious policemen, noted for their moral integrity, never missed a chance to destroy that illusion and made the lovers pay heavy fines.

The Moscow Police Force has every right to claim that thanks to its members' efforts the capital's gardens and parks became more dignified and the moral standards of the population were raised.

The credit of purging sex from parks and gardens and the Lenin Hills, as well as in the Moscow environs in general is due to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. During his rule a lot of new low-ceilinged apartments were built of pre-fabricated units and there was no longer a need to pick up a shopping bag and leave home in search of love.

There is sex in the USSR. Grannies coming home every evening carrying flowers and branches of fresh leaves can see it when young couples riding next to them down the Metro escalator start exchanging passionate and hungry kisses, in the manner young people used to kiss in capitalist countries years ago. Today's grannies don't make a great fuss over it. Some turn away and frown, others who are more curious steal

glances at the kissing couple to see just how they do it. Everybody knows that Soviet people learned to kiss thanks to American movies. Older film directors are fond of telling students of the Moscow Cinema Institute that forty years ago no Soviet actress could kiss properly. This is true. In old movies the characters not only stuggle for the overfulfillment of plan quotas or perform heroic deeds – they love as well. Almost any movie ends with the loving couple's get-together. Having found each other, the lovers start to kiss, but the camera always turns away modestly. The camera did not want to act like those Lenin Hills policemen who eagerly waited for the act of moral corruption to commence. There were no erotic scenes in Soviet movies before the 20th congress. After it, some background eroticism was allowed. Some films even went as far as to show crumpled grass.

At the same time, sex was a must in Soviet movies about enemies. Making films about the Civil War directors lost all sense of proportion depicting all kinds or brothel scenes in which the White Guards participated. Cancan suddelly became a fashion. Cancan with those shapely legs in black stockings, with those long skirts which went up so readily with high kicking. The bad dancers at whom the White Guards stared lustily wore blood-red lipstick and jet-black mascara. Surprising as it may seem, the puritanical Soviet cinema-goers came to love cancans very much. Some impressionable people even watched the same film over and over again, leaving the hall immediately after the cancan scene, knowing that nothing else interesting was to be expected.

The Soviet person can not be reformed. The purity of the Soviet person was heavily guarded not only by cinema and the arts, newspapers and TV, but also by factories of rubber articles. The patriarchs of the Soviet state fancied that such a thing as sex did not exist in the USSR and the nationally famous Rubber Articles Factory in Bakovka near Moscow which used to turn out those little things for men, was regeared to produce balloons. The number of colourful balloons at demonstations devoted to May Day or another anniversary of the 1917 Revolution soared. One shortage was eliminated. The children were happy, while some women were afraid this change in production priorities would leave them with more children than they wanted to have.

Another confirmation of the Soviet male's laziness and passiveness! Guess who raised the struggle for the comeback of those little rubber things for men? Right: women.

Literaturnaya Gazeta was the first to learn about the dramatic new shortage, perhaps because it was the only Soviet paper to run a Private Life section which enraged the advocates of purity but was widely popular among the intellectual young. One woman from the far-off city of Temirtau, where young people made up the bulk of the population, addressed an indignant letter to the paper, without a single grammar mistake, in which she informed that her city's drugstores had run out of ... Well, if a young intelligent woman who does not make a single grammar mistake in writing pronounced the word, why don't we pronounce it too? The drugstores ran out of... condoms.

At that time this shortage was as yet unknown to Moscow. At that time Moscow lived better than other cities. There was sausage and even condoms. Sausage was also available in Temirtau but there were no condoms. And young intelligent women started a resolute struggle against the shortage.

The then Public Health Minister, famous surgeon Boris Vasilyevich Petrovsky, was an educated and cultured person, who, unlike other ministers, was often seen in the Bolshoi and at the Big Hall of the Moscow Conservatoire. He decided to talk to journalists in order to ward off the attacks.

Accompanied by three deputies, one of whom later succeeded him in office, the minister arrived at the newspaper's office and used his sweetest voice to ask the editor to arrange a meeting with his furious ciritcs, so that they could listen to him and see the situation from the inside.

The furious critics started producing heaps of letters from their briefcases.

The refined minister agreed with all criticisms. Yes, patients were often kept in chilly corridors, but the free-of-charge Soviet health care was less expensive for the state than in the US where patients had to pay for treatment. The state had no money. Medicines were often unavailable. But Soviet plants did not produce all medicines. One furious critic named the article which the Soviet rubber industry produced in insufficient quantities. He named that article by the word used by the intelligent young married woman from Temirtau who had been so bitter over the shortage.

The minister refused to answer the question and referred it to his deputy, Yelena Cheslavovna Novikova, because as he said, ironically, the problem affected women most. The minister explained that Yelena Novikova was responsible for medical problems of women and children. This was strange. After all the unavailable article was intended as birth control.

The famous surgeon, a lover of theatre and music politely addressed his deputy:

"Yelena Cheslavovna, will you please tell us about Item Two."

The deputy was quick enough to understand what Item Two stood for and started explaining the situation. While the amazed newspaper people wondered what Item One might be, they missed the explanation of why the Bakovka Factory stopped producing birth control means and started turning out articles which could fly if inflated. The confused journalists did not interrupt Yelena Cheslavovna as she depicted before them the great prospects as far as Item Two was concerned. It turned out that the ministry knew everything and acted. Two production lines had been purchased in India and were soon to start producing so many million pieces of Item Two. The deputy minister thus described the quality of the Item:

"Beautiful. Very soft, elastic, fine. And very pleasant." At this point Yelena Novikova's voice turned into a murmur.

Instead of listening attentively to the deputy minister, the journalists started dividing the number of future Item Twos by the number of adult men living in the country. As they did not have any idea how many Item Twos the average man needs for one year, they stopped calculating and understood that different men had different needs and it was naive to try to find an average figure.

Meanwhile the minister suggested that they turn to a more serious question.

The aged minister was so wrong! Ten years have passed but the problem is still there. Item Two is now readily available for exorbitant black market prices, but some women rush to buy large quantities without giving a thought to money. This fact demonstrates the existence of two approaches to the problem. From the point of view of the minister it was evident that he recognized the existence of sex as such in the country. From the point of view of the women on the black market the problem is highly acute and no money matters when it comes to this problem's solution.

(To be continued)

Drawings by Victor Bogorad

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

This is not an example of a political study in the usual sense of the word. It is a story – maybe usual, maybe fantastic, maybe fantasmagoric – which contains an insight into the soul of public life and the nature of human sentiments. And thus the story becomes an essay on social psychology. It reveals the nerve of the mob, the depth of evil and the light of the sacred...

Frigyes Karinthy was one of the most versatile and excitingly individual writers in twentieth-century Hungarian literature. In the course of his intellectual adventures he conquered an unparalleled variety of literary genres – humorous sketches, satires, short stories, novels, literary parodies as well as poems, dramas, cabaret sketches and essays. His prose in the first decade of this century places him among the earliest literary representatives of depth-psychology analysis, whereas another side of his writing reveals him as a precursor of absurd humour, with a bit of a Kafkaesque sound.

The alternate use of the tragic and humorous approach is characteristic of his literary attitude. His principal themes are reason and its disintegration, the conflict between the conscious and subconscious self. All these are to be found in his writings, dramatic and humorous, tragic and grotesque.

Karinthy wrote some of his finest works in the thirties. His thin volume of poems took its place in the top flights of Hungarian verse. Written in free verse, they have a sonorous Biblical sound; they lament, they mourn, they are desperate "messages" (*Message in the bottle*) telling of what retrospectively seemed a happy past, of what is a bitter present, for a future generation that might survive the years of 1933-38. It was during this period that he wrote his most passionate articles against the symptoms of fascism and the dehumanization of man. His political attitude was most closely akin to that of Thomas Mann. Karinthy had lost all his illusions; he was fully aware of the human unconcern and indifference that paved the way to the Second World War. Together with other Hungarian writers he campaigned, protested, argued and used all his powers of satire against the threatening new catastrophe.

Karinthy was restless all his life, always in search of something new. It is practically impossible to give a survey of his work. Every reader had his own image of the man. In many respects he was a pioneer, or at least one who led the way. As a humorist and satirist he paved the way for the tragi-comic, the humour of the Absurd, the black humour of modern Hungarian literature; as a thinker, he enriched us by the literary formulation and widespread propagation of his scientific interests. His imaginative humour was inexhaustible, but at the same time he not only continued the serious work of his Hungarian predecessors, but worked for reform with an intensity almost unparalleled in Hungarian literary history. His work ended in 1938, which means that even his last work is more than thirty years old. During that time he has had followers and successors both abroad and at home. His significance in the history of literature, the revolution he brought about in modern humour, are today difficult to assess and in truth a matter of speculation.

Karinthy was a humanist. Antimilitarism, antifascism, a romantic form of anticapitalism, the pursuit of an ideal democracy, and the reign of scientific reason were the main themes of his opus...

Barabbas

Frigyes Karinthy (1887-1938)

And at sunset on the third day, He stepped out of the narrow opening of the vault, and started quietly down the road. On either side of the road were gutted ruins from which smoke was rising. Sprawled on the bottom of the dry ditch He found the first of those who outside the house of Pilate had shouted the name of Barabbas: with blackened tongue, the man was howling at the ruddy clouds.

He stopped in front of the man, and softly said:

"I am here."

And the man looked up at Him, and broke into sobs.

"Rabbi! Rabbi!" he cried, weeping.

And gently the Master went on to say:

"Cry not. Arise and come with me. For I will now go back to Jerusalem, and go to the house of Pilate, and I will ask a new law upon myself and upon you who chose Barabbas and unto whom Barabbas hath done these things."

And the wretch rose to his feet, and he clutched at His garment.

"Master!" he cried, choking with tears. "O Master, I am coming. Tell me how I shall save myself! Tell me what I am to do! Tell me what I am to say!"

"Say thou nothing," he said gently, "but what thou shouldst have said three days ago when Pilate came out upon his porch and asked you, "Which of the twain will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, the murderer, or the Nazarene?"

"Oh, fool that I am!" cried the wretch, beating his head with his fists. "Oh, what a fool I was to cry Barabbas! Barabbas, who hath reduced me to such plight!"

"It is well," the Master continued kindly. "Come thou with me to the house of Pilate; and mind thou nothing and heed none but me, and when I make a sign, cry out wholeheartedly and with all thy breath, "The Nazarene!" as if thou criedst 'My life.'"

So the man followed Him.

And on their way they found another unhappy creature, from whom Barabbas had taken away his house, his wife and his child, and whose eyes he had caused to be put out.

And gently He touched the man's brow with His hand, and said:

"I am here. Come with me to Jerusalem, and when I shall touch thee with my hand, cry thou 'The Nazarene!' as if thou criedst 'Give me my house, my child, my sight!'"

Now the man burst into tears, and followed Him.

And they found yet another man, and this man had his hands and feet tied with a rope which was slung around his neck. This man Barabbas had thrust, face downward, into a putrid swamp, among lice and reptiles.

And He went up to him, and undid his bonds, and said unto him:

"I know thee. Thou wast a poet, and thou wouldst proclaim the rapturous soaring of the spirit. Come with me, and when I make a sign, cry out, saying 'The Nazarene!' as if thou criedst, 'Let there be freedom of the Spirit and of Thought!'"

Now the man kissed His sandals, and did but plead with his eyes, for his mouth was yet filled with mud.

And they proceeded on their way, and more and more that were maimed and crippled and halt, as well as miserable lepers, joined them as they went – people whom Barabbas had ruined. And each of them, severally, beat his breast and wept, and beseeched Him to make a sign for them when they were to cry 'The Nazarene!' as if they cried 'Let there be peace! Peace upon earth!'

And at nightfall they came to Jerusalem, and came to the house of Pilate.

Pilate was seated on his porch, and was supping in the company of Barabbas, the murderer.

There they sat, fat men with shining faces, drinking heavy wines and eating dainty meat from golden dishes; their scarlet robes shone far and wide.

And the Nazarene, at the head of the multitude which followed Him, went up to the porch, and, raising His transfixed hands, gently began to speak, saying:

"The feast of the passover is not yet ended, oh Pilate. It is the custom and the law that at the passover thou release unto the people a prisoner whom they will. The people wanted Barabbas, and I was crucified. Yet I have had to rise from the dead, for I saw that the people knew not what they were doing. Now this multitude behind me have known Barabbas, and they now want a new law. Therefore shouldst thou ask them anew, as is written in our books of law."

And Pilate reflected, then shrugged his shoulder, and he went to the edge of the porch, marvelling as he saw the multitude, and spake:

"Whom, then, will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or the Nazarene?"

And now He made a sign.

And then there arose an uproar, and the cry went forth from the multitude like thunder.

And the multitude shouted, "Barabbas!"

And they looked upon each other in great fear because each of them, separately had shouted: "The Nazarene!"

And the Master became pale and, turning, looked upon the multitude.

And he did recognize of each and every one his countenance; but, in the twilight of the eve, those many faces became a single one, an enormous head, which was grinning stupidly and malignantly and with impudence at His face. Its blood-shot eyes were blinking, and evil-smelling saliva was running from its mouth; and the roar "Barabbas!" which issued from its throat sounded as if it were a rattle saying "Death!" "Death!"

And Pilate cast down his eyes in embarrassment, and said unto Him, "Thou seest..."

And He nodded, and quietly went up the stairs, and stretched out His hands toward the executioner, that he might bind them.

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Anne Sinclair is known all over France. The 1987-88 surveys showed that she was the most popular woman in that country. And two years ago the mayors of French cities decided that it was Anne who deserved to be Marianne – the woman who becomes the symbol of France and is depicted in the famous Phrygian cap. Before Anne, this honour had been conferred on Brigitte Bardot and Catherine Deneuve.

Unlike her precursors, Anne Sinclair has nothing to do with the cinema. She owes her fame to the work on the most popular French TV channel TF1. Each Sunday she hosts the programme *7 x 7*. One cannot find a single political figure in France who has not taken part in this programme. And millions of people in France, including President François Mitterrand, like Anne Sinclair's questions, her manner of talking to people and her original point of view on many problems.

After the August putsch, Anne immediately came to Moscow: she thinks that journalists cannot follow the events that are taking place in the world by just sitting in the chairs in their offices.

"It was a great pleasure to see the people who have defended democracy and become free," says Anne. "During the days of the putsch all of France was glued to TV screens just like during the Gulf War. Each Frenchman seemed to be personally affected by what was going on."

In Moscow, Anne Sinclair met with the Russian leaders. She came to the USSR from Japan, where she interviewed Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. Before that she was in New York, talking to the UN Secretary-General. She takes pride in the fact that she was the first foreign TV journalist who has recently managed to interview the British Crown Prince, Charles.

Journalists do not often indicate Anne Sinclair's age. And one can easily understand why: the French Marianne is always young and beautiful.

* * *

A pioneer in the field of human heart transplants, South African professor **Christiaan Barnard**, has made a new discovery: he has suggested a new method of controlling one's own heart with the help of a personal computer.

"Transplantation is needed when the heart has become worn-out," states the famous scientist. "It will be better if a man can be in time his own competent doctor. The duty of medicine is to help him in this endeavour."

Professor Barnard recommends that each person carry – as one would carry a dosimeter in a radioactive zone – a pocket computer monitoring the work of the heart. This, of course, will not save one from infarction, a stroke or ischemia. Yet, according to Barnard, this device will make it possible to record hourly the work of the heart and to determine if certain kinds of work can have undesirable consequences.

Barnard's device records the rate of the pulse and the breathing. According to specialists, any athlete or worker engaged in hard physical labour cannot do without such a mini-computer. And this is especially true of people predisposed to cardiovascular diseases.

N. Reshetnyak,
our own correspondent
PRETORIA

* * *

The 56-year-old deputy editor-in-chief of the Chinese magazine *Shijie Zhishi* (World Affairs), **Chen Pingling**, has always been proud of his publication, and especially so after the August putsch in Moscow. His magazine was the only publication in China that tried on the basis of TASS reports to give its

Our ambassador to Prague

It is known that each man is a toy in the hands of his own destiny. Yet sometimes he can influence his lot, which, it seems, requires considerable civic courage and an absolute sense of decency. It is precisely these qualities that guided the councillor-envoy **Alexander Lebedev** during the days of the August putsch, when he and Ambassador Boris Pankin paid a visit to the President Vaclav Havel of Czecho-Slovakia to present to him the statement condemning the illegal Kremlin coup.

And now Alexander Lebedev has again visited Vaclav Havel, only this time to present to him not a statement, but his credentials as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR.

Alexander Lebedev's way to the diplomatic Olympus could hardly be characterized as straight and easy. Born in Voronezh 53 years ago, he became a student at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, where two of his life interests have found their most vivid expressions: journalism and politics. Lebedev was a regular contributor to the students' wall newspaper *Mezhdunarodnik,* which was no hindrance to his study of the Burmese language or participation in the Institute's numerous committees and commissions. The latter pursuit has to a large extent predetermined Alexander's career (after post-graduate training): the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR, the International Union of Students (Prague), the YCL Central Commitee's international department, and the typical career development – a transfer to the apparat of the CPSU Central Committee. At this point his biography makes the first zigzag – Lebedev was transferred to the seemingly non-political USSR Copyright Agency, where, among other things, he supervised publication abroad of works by Soviet composers.

For a number of years Alexander Lebedev represented the Soviet Union in the Secretariat of the World Peace Council (Helsinki), where he did Moscow authorities some wrong and was banished to... journalism. He again began his way to the top, working for different magazines: *World Economics and International Relations, International Affairs* and, finally, the appointment of his life – to the editorial office of our renovated *New Times,* where in 1986 Alexander Lebedev became a member of the editorial board and headed the foreign policy information department.

He did not have a chance to improve his Burmese, but he has learned four European languages, defended his candidate thesis in history and written a rather voluminous but interesting book, *Sketches of British Foreign Policy.*

Alexander is a serious man, who at the same time can be easily carried away. He has an affection for Russian literature, the foggy Albion and Golden Prague...

But Lebedev's main affection is his wife, the well-known artist Dodo Lordkipanidze, author of the airy and fantastic canvases that feature a whimsical web of dreams, people's destinies and paradoxical landscapes of Georgia, Russia and, naturally, Czecho-Slovakia.

A. Bukalov

readers the most detailed account of the events taking place in the USSR.

Chen Pingling comes from the Sichuan province. Like his more celebrated fellow townsman Deng Xiaoping, Chen spent the years of the "cultural revolution" in the "May 7th reeducation school." According to him, it was there that he became a great optimist. Although it was only last September that Chen came to the Soviet Union for the first time on an invitation from *New Times*, he speaks good Russian. He studied Russian as far back as in the early 1950s at the Peking Institute of Foreign Languages.

Recently the world press has often written about serious human rights violations in China. According to Chen, at all times the main concern of the rulers was how to feed the people. Hence historically China needs human rights not as human rights per se, but only if they help to bring about the well-being of the people. An ardent admirer of the intellectual national Chinese game Guo, Chen believes that the time has come for mankind to struggle not so much for human rights as for the termination of interethnic conflicts.

A. Chudodeyev

* * *

The 51-year-old Kenyan, **Mangari Maathai,** decided to surround with trees the entire great African desert in order to stop the sands from advancing on villages and ruining African peasants. The idea to create the Green Belt Movement came to Mangari 12 years ago, and now activists of the movement, mostly women, have already planted millions of trees. The Green Belt itself has passed through a dozen of countries neighbouring on Kenya.

The project is expected to take 14 years.

Mangari realized full well that without material incentives in the struggle against the advance of the desert the project would not get off the ground. She has found sponsors and now for each tree planted the women from the Green Belt are paid 4 cents – not much, of course, but at least it is some kind of money.

But trees around sands is not the only problem that Mangari is trying to tackle. Not long ago she started a campaign against the construction of a 62-storey skyscraper on the territory of the national park in Nairobi. In response to her appeals the companies financing the project refused to provide funds. The city authorities have retaliated by evicting Mangari's organization from its office. Now Mangari has to give the Green Belt not only all her free time, but also her own apartment that is now being used as the movement's headquarters.

The first woman in Kenya to become a professor Maathai teaches anatomy at the University of Nairobi. She looks with a philosophical eye at the housing problems that have befallen her. "You cannot fight for the environment without eventually getting into a conflict with politicians," she says.

The father through the eyes of the son

The world's only museum of children's art in Oslo boasts a collection of 70,000 drawings, watercolours, oil paintings, carpets, ceramics and engravings from various countries – members of the UN, Vatican and Switzerland. The museum features in all tourist guides and maps of Oslo. Its founder is the Soviet emigrant and film director **Rafael Goldin**, 71.

In 1973, by the time Goldin decided to leave the country, he had already shot about 50 films and was in line for a successful future career. The films *Ice Hockey Players, An Ordinary Trip* and *A Long Day* were running with success and cinema goers still remember them. But Goldin moved to Norway. There, together with Alexander Galich, he shot the film *When I Come Back*. But at the same time his successful creative work was marred by his personal troubles: the divorce from his wife and the futile attempts to see his son, which were actively opposed by his ex-wife. As Goldin remembers, in the investigation of the family problems the Norwegian judges had shown neither delicacy nor tact; and as the court battles were going on, the "Berlin Wall" at its worst began gradually to rise between him and his son. This was how Goldin found a completely new theme – "The father through the eyes of children" and began to visit Norwegian schools and talk to the children whose parents had divorced. The children not only talked about themselves, but also gave him their drawings.

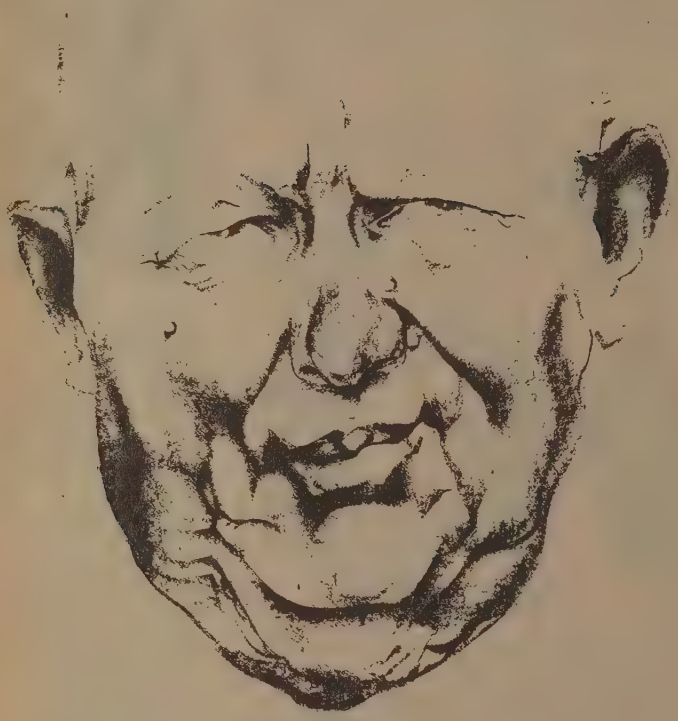
The first files with children's works began to appear in Goldin's apartment as he visited Japan, the United States and Canada, and made the film, *The Father Through the Eyes of Children*. After his trips to Guatemala, Nigeria, Egypt and India there also appeared the second part – *The Mother Through the Eyes of Children*. This was how his collection was created that began to travel all over the world. In 1986, the exhibition at the Sonja Henie Arts Centre in Oslo was visited by 50,000 people, two times the number of the people that came to the Pablo Picasso exhibition that had been held a month before at the same centre. The exhibition has turned into a museum with a permanent exposition.

In it, everything is intended for children. Little visitors can lie on the big downy carpet, watch the fish and touch all works with their hands: the drawings are wrapped in a special transparent plastic that plays the role of the glass. And in the big room crammed with tom-toms, guitars, castanets and other exotic instruments on weekends children can find Kauame Serabe, a native from Côte d'Ivoire, who teaches them to dance and perform African tunes.

Rafael Goldin's collection has travelled over half of the world, and now he is very eager to bring it over to the Soviet Union. He himself has already managed to visit his native land, bringing with him a film about Alexander Galich – now it's time for the drawings. And meanwhile he proposes to hold in his museum a meeting of Soviet and American leaders.

"If, for example, Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush meet in my museum, its walls themselves will put them in a special mood. As a result, peace and security on the planet can be significantly strengthened," says Goldin, explaining his unusual proposition.

P. Obukhov
OSLO



Nikita Khrushchev

Boris Zhutovsky

The war, Stalin, the past – there was no present for him

"Oh, there he is," Lyusya whispered as our car rolled through the gate. Our host, wearing a padded jacket and a grey hat, stood on the porch talking to two mongrel dogs which were beside themselves with joy. "Hallo, hallo," he said, accepting our gift of flowers and holding the door open for us. "Come right in. I'll sort things out with these lickspittles here and join you in a moment."

On that bright sunny day of April 17, 1971, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev turned 77.

After the rows of 1962-63 when infuriated Khrushchev had exhibitions of abstract paintings closed in the Manezh Hall, I was practically out of work for two years or so. After the 1964 coup and Khrushchev's removal from power, however, things gradually returned to normal. The bosses of the television centre where my wife Lyusya worked just couldn't figure her out and racked their brains for the answer to the question whether she was "the wife of someone Mr K. had sacked before they sacked Mr K. himself..." Finally, she quit that job and got a new one at the Novosti Press Agency – specifically, in its new TV news department, its staff consisting of an intelligence officer who had all but triggered off World War but got caught, a KGB man who kept an eye on him (and on the rest of them, for that matter), the son of one minister, the daughter of another, the grandchildren, nephews and sisters-in-law of other big shots plus a few "draught horses" who had to pull that ideological cart. Those included Lyusya.

The TV news department employed, among others, the granddaughter of our overthrown "tsar" through whom I handed over to him small gifts on his birthdays and other festive occasions. Why did I do that? I don't know, honest to God!

I was sorry for him – his granddaughter told me that he lived in his country house under guard, practically in custody, that he had to ask permission to go to the city, that his telephone was practically silent, that even his relatives visited him very rarely, and those who did were "ladies," for the most part. "Gentlemen" preferred to keep clear of him, because they couldn't afford to quarrel with the sharply watchful new authorities who kept them in bread and butter...

Besides, returning good for evil tickled my vanity. We Russians revere our emperors, it's in our blood. When a child, I had dreams of walking over to Stalin's boots, high and shining, looking up into his smiling mustached face, with a pipe clenched between his teeth, and telling him all about myself...

I gave him now a book, now one of my drawings, and he sent me his thanks and stories. Once he conveyed to me a confession that it was Ilyichov who had prompted him to lash out against culture in the hope of getting promoted from a Central Committee Secretary to a Politburo member. He worked up the "old man," and the latter kicked up a row in the Manezh Hall. What followed were ideological dinner parties where, over platefuls of sturgeon soup, blistering tirades were made against modern trends in painting, literature, the cinema and drama, and abuse was heaped on Ehrenburg, Aliger, Voznesensky, Aksyonov...

On April 17, Khrushchev asked Lyusya and myself over to his birthday party. The scandal caused by the publication of his memories abroad was still on. The book was proclaimed to be a fake here. The publisher swore that he had never brought out a single forgery. The author himself publicly denied only having handed the memoires over to the West.

Lyusya knew the language the memoires had been translated into, and her boss instructed her to read the translation and to make a synopsis of it. The powers-that-were wished to establish the truth. Not until twenty years later were the memoirs published here, and Khrushchev's son Sergei has told the story behind them and Victor Louis has confessed to having smuggled the memoirs out of the country. At that time, however, the affair was shrouded in mystery.

Our car sped along the Rublyovskoye Highway, the bridge across the Moskva River, then turned left through Ilyinskoye and, past two stone pillars, proceeded to Petrovo-Dalneye. A heavy gate was opened for us by an armed woman guard in a trenchcoat and a beret, we rolled on past tall green fences without a single chink in them, to the farthest gate on our left. The gate was opened by a captain this time, who checked the car's registration number, counted noses, then closed the gate behind us and, bearing himself like a master, entered a sturdily built sentry-box. We caught a glimpse of more uniformed men inside it.

We walked into a light and warm anteroom. Nikita Sergeyevich led the way to his study and motioned us

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The magazine version

to a tiny sofa. I presented him with another book. A telephone rang.

"General Serdyuk has wished me many happy returns of the day. We saw action at Stalingrad together," he explained with a twinkle in his eye, crossing his legs. I noted how small his polished boots were. "Incidentally, films and books about the war set my teeth on edge. They are just lies, not a grain of truth in them!" Khrushchev was obviously glad to have new company.

"At Stalingrad, General Golikov pleaded with me, almost on his knees, not to leave him on the left bank. We had a hard time talking him into staying there. A couple of days later, an officer sent us a message that Golikov had gone into a frenzy and did us more harm than good. We removed him, gave him a good dressing down, and might well have shot him. That was easy then. Stalin scolded me for maltreating generals. As a matter of fact I had never treated them badly, I made Golikov a marshal later..."

Khrushchev described Stalin, hateful to him, as a man who had been a poor judge of men and an armchair military strategist. He marvelled at the dignity with which Paulus bore himself after being taken prisoner. He found fault with his wartime comrades-in-arms: "Yeremenko was awfully untidy. Upon gnawing a bone clean, he would put it on a serving dish." Khrushchev praised Vasilevsky: "One could spend a lifetime with him – and never hear a rude word." From Vasilevsky, the conversation turned to Kharkov. According to Khrushchev, Stalin had ordered an offensive and insisted on it with the result that hundreds of thousands of soldiers were caught in a death trap or were taken prisoner. There was nothing for it but to phone Stalin's near-Moscow residence called Blizhnyaya Dacha. "Malenkov picked up the receiver. I asked for Stalin, and heard Malenkov asking him whether he wished to answer the call. Stalin replied he would talk through Malenkov. I knew they were gorging themselves with food and drink. I could even see, in my mind's eye, who sat where, the whole picture.

"He did not call off his order. Summoned me to Moscow. Asked whether the Germans' report that they had captured thousands of Soviet soldiers was true. 'This is true, Comrade Stalin,' I told him.

"Then he began to prepare me, psychologically, for the prospect of being shot, and told me the story of Nicholas II having had a general hanged for losing a battle in Eastern Prussia. He asked me whether the Tsar was right, in my opinion.

"I replied that the general had deserved his lot because he was a German spy. My fate hung by a thread for a few days. Stalin pondered what to do to me. That night-time conversation had been heard by many. To have me shot would have meant to admit that he was partly to blame for what had happened, but he had never been capable of that."

A lunch was served in a large dining room lined with oak panels. There was a fireplace in the corner, and a huge radiogram, encrusted with mother-of-pearl, stretched along a wall. In another corner stood a jukebox of the kind found in cafés. An oakwood sideboard, a Chinese screen, a sofa behind it with bedclothes neatly folded. The interior was graced with nice Indian paintings: a portrait of Rabindranath Tagore, some girls. In that room, as elsewhere in the house, there was a lot of useless rubbish: suitcases, lamps, vases trickets. Nevertheless, the place was tidy, and somehow conveyed the impression that the occupants were moving soon. Many pieces of furniture were covered with plastic.

The room's large windows opened onto a beautiful view of pines, bushes and a river. Nina Petrovna's round face beamed on us. The table was covered with a starched tablecloth. No wine – just kvass and fruit pop. In the centre there was a cabbage pie with the figures 77 on it – a birthday gift from the cook, a dark white-aproned woman, no longer young, with a military bearing. Appetizers – fish and lettuce – were followed by a pea soup, boiled meat with buckwheat garnish, and zander with an egg-and-butter sauce.

Over lunch the conversation turned to Vlasov and Pavlov. "What they say about Vlasov is a pack of lies, too. He was a controversial figure. An educated man, a schoolteacher, a brave soldier. He shouldn't have surrendered. It didn't pay."

"And as for Pavlov," he said after a pause, "he was narrow-minded. Stalin appointed him the commander-in-chief of the force which fought in Byelorussia, on the grounds that he had distinguished himself in Spain. He had been a tank commander in Spain, that's all. In the early days of the war the Germans burned all the planes and armoured vehicles. Stalin had him shot for that."

"Didn't they know about the Germans' war preparations in Brest?" Lyusya asked.

"They knew, in Brest and everywhere. As to Brest, its defences were nil. Smirnov thought it all up."

From the dining room we moved to the bedroom. Our host, with beads of perspiration standing out on his bald head, subsided into an armchair. "Kekkonen's gift, this. Very comfortable."

The bedroom was a small one, with a veranda. Among photographs on the walls I spotted a picture by me, an illustration of Marshak's poems. Two wardrobes, a bed covered with an old-fashioned counterpane, a desk, a mirror. And again, a lot of rubbish, more suitcases, a pile of letters in different envelopes, edelweisses in cellophane, penknives, pens, a transistor radio, a tape recorder.

He began to discuss Stalin again, calling him perfidious, evil and cowardly.

"He dreaded the war, and how! Especially after the abortive Finnish campaign. At the same time he congratulated himself on the Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty, saying he had cheated Hitler. Under the treaty we got the three Baltic Republics, Bessarabia and Findland. We thought the Finnish campaign would be a walkover for us, that as soon as we opened fire on them they would surrender. He summoned us in the dead of night when the deadline for complying with the ultimatum was drawing near. We were in high spirits as we waited for a report from Kulik who had departed for the Finnish border. Kuusinen hung around – he was to have been appointed the Premier of the Karelo-Finnish Republic.

"Finland proved to be a hard nut to crack, however. All the fields were strewn with our soldiers' corpses, but no progress was made. Stalin was scared. If we couldn't cope with Finns, what if Germans attacked us? At that time, the military council consisted of fools and nuts. Our best officers had been shot. Voroshilov was responsible for that war, and goofed it. The setbacks were explained by the secrets of the "Mannerheim Line." Nonsense. Our army leadership was no good at all."

He talked with Lyusya, for the most part, while I was making sketches from which a portrait later emerged. "After the war broke out, Stalin said: 'Lenin left us a state, but we have all but lost it!' He was certain the war would be the end of us. He had no respect for Lenin at all. He recalled with indignation how Lenin had called him up from Tsaritsyn and scolded him for overindulging in champagne. In general, Stalin drank a lot, wine chiefly. He told us himself how he had drunk with criminals in Vologda, to which he had been exiled, and how political exiles took him to comrades' court. Later all of them turned out to be enemies, Stalin said, darting a meaningful look at us."

"Is it true that he wrote poetry?" I asked for some reason, probably just to make conversation.

"Yes, he did," Nikita Sergeyevich replied without a shade of doubt, and added, rather irrelevantly, "and he had the clap, too."

All through the interview our host never mentioned our new rulers. The war, Stalin, the past... The present just didn't exist. Presently new guests arrived: Yulya, the senior daughter, with her husband from Kiev, Sergei, the son, with a number of his engineer friends. Klimerman, the director of a photo store on Kalinin Avenue. The granddad suggested a walk. He put on a khaki cloak with cape ("De Gaulle's gift. It's like their police uniform, only mine isn't black.")

We walked across an enormous garden to a meadow, to a loud twitter of birds. The "lickspittles" kept us company, and the procession of guests stretched out into a long file. Great-granddaughter Nina clung to the old man's arm affectionately and offered him young green blades of grass. He absent-mindedly stroked her dark hair plaited into a tight pigtail.

We walked all the way to the place where the muddy Istra fell into the Moskva River. On the opposite bank we could see the village Znamenskoye with its rickety log cabins huddling together around a dilapidated church. The conversation was strained. We sat down on a bench. Two poodles ran out into the glade, barking loudly, followed by the Adzhubei family. Rada was the first and only one on that day to kiss her father.

I was impatient and asked Lyusya in a whisper: "Are the stories similar to those in the book?"

"They coincide word for word. We shall discuss it at home."

We returned to the house, had tea with homemade cakes and barankas. Everything got mixed upon the table, the cook brought in tea, potatoes with meat, milk, fruit. The Adzhubei boys ate with gusto. Sergei's engineers had a good appetite, too. The old man looked at us longingly, he obviously wanted to talk with new listeners to his heart's content.

Finally, we excused ourselves and rose to go. Khrushchev walked us to the vestibule. "No hard feelings, I hope," he said, keeping my hand between his warm tiny palms. "Frankly, I do not even know how I got to the Manezh Hall. Someone took me there. I shouldn't have gone, of course. I arrived there not as a viewer but as the Prime Minister. No, I shouldn't have gone there. I shouted at you there because I happened to overhear a celebrated artists say: Stalin would have shown them. That angered me, and I started shouting. I wanted to give him hell, but you happened along in the heat of the moment. I shouldn't have gone. And leter someone took advantage of my presence there."

When the Black Moon emerges from Capricorn

Astrologist Pavel Globa predicts another military-civilian putsch and the disintegration of the US empire...

New Times. Periods of crisis have always brought forth a multitude of clairvoyants and fortune tellers who won popularity by predicting the Apocalypse. Doesn't this explain the current interest in astrology?

Pavel Globa. It is like asking why a sick man seeks a doctor's help. A crisis is the time of testing the correctness of a new way.

N.T. Do you really think that a coup d'etat can be predicted by the positions of the stars?

P.G. From an astrologist's point of view, 1991 is a critical year. The largest number of solar and lunar eclipses occurs in 1991. Since remote antiquity such years have been referred to as fatal. 1991 is a year of six eclipses, three of which took place in June-July, causing critical situations. I drew on the predictions made by ancient astrologers, specifically by Nostradamus, who said that the system of Evil would take shape in a northern country in the East of Europe and would last for 73 years and seven months. Another prediction said that the "evil empire" would fall apart after the death of the last of the three senile leaders who were among its founders, and who were to die one after another, at three-year intervals. In my opinion, the three old men in question were Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich. Molotov died in 1986, Malenkov in 1988, and Kaganovich this year, on July 26, precisely on the day of a lunar eclipse.

N.T. But the coup was attempted only in mid-August, wasn't it?

P.G. You see, each of the three eclipses forcast events a month in advance. It is difficult for an astrologist to predict the exact date of an event. From the standpoint of the laws of outer space, what matters is not so much an event itself, but rather its prediction.

N.T. Eduard Shevardnadze warned, last December, about the imminent danger of dictatorship, and did so without referring to the stars.

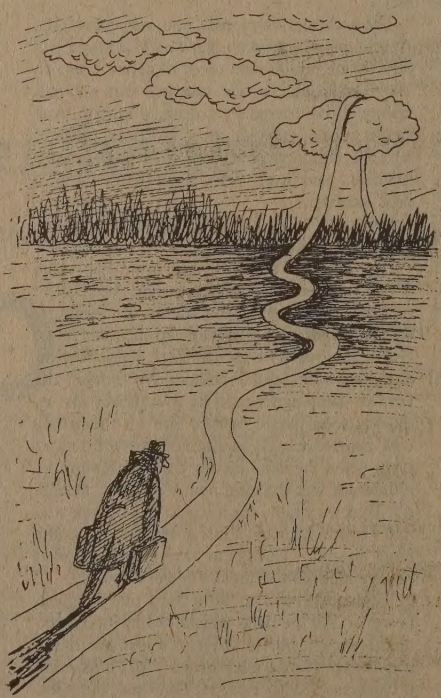
P.G. Unlike myself, he couldn't have done this earlier. Naturally, an astrologist cannot go by a star system alone. A comprehensive approach is needed.

N.T. What gave you the idea that the coup would be attempted by civilians, as well as by the military?

P.G. The influence of Mars and Jupiter was immense last summer. Mars is the god of war, and Jupiter is responsible for civilian rule. When the coup was being predetermined, Mars and Jupiter were close to one another; what's more, this conjunction of the two planets took place in the zodiac sign of the Lion. That made me certain that military and civilian forces, the military-industrial complex and the partocracy would consolidate.

N.T. Was the putsch inevitable?

P.G. There is an alternative to any situation... It was clear to me that there would only be an attempted coup, a rehearsal of what might happen when the eclipse repeats itself in the counterphase. Two counterphase eclipses will take place – one on December 21, the other on January 5. New events to come to fruition within a month or so will be determined on those days.



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

N.T. Do you think that another coup is inevitable?

P.G. Being a professional astrologist, I shall never use the word "inevitable." According to Lenin's teaching, only communism was inevitable.

N.T. What do the stars tell you about the future of Soviet society?

P.G. Now many planets – including the invisible one, called The Black Moon, which causes all evil – are in the Capricorn constellation. This planet may have all kinds of unpleasant surprises in store for us. When the Black Moon emerges from Capricorn, which will happen in February, 1992, a civil war may break out. Next winter the Black Moon will approach Mars. As a result, the army, as it falls apart, may lead a new coup.

N.T. You've read the horoscopes of politicians. What ups, downs and even house arrests are to be expected?

P.G. Gorbachev and Yeltsin are a cosmic pair, because the former was born under the sign of Pisces, and the latter under the sign of Aquarius. The epoch of Aquarius is connected with the future, and the epoch of Pisces with the past, but it will come to an end in the year 2003. I do not know if it is just a coincidence, but four of the State of Emergency Committee members – Pugo, Baklanov, Kryuchkov and Starodubtsev – were born under the Pisces sign...

Although Yeltsin was born under the Aquarius sign, in "troubled times," such an individual can do more harm than good. As a citizen, however, I cannot but have respect for him.

Bakatin would make a good President of Russia. He was born on the night of November 6/7, 1937, the year of the Taurus. The space constellation for that year is in his favour: he could bring the previous system of government to its logical end.

As for my position as astrologist and citizen, I believe that I must stay away from politics. I serve the stars which have no party affiliation.

N.T. Will we ever get out of the mess we are now in?

P.G. The period of our country's disintegration will last for three more years. I associate these time limits with the period of Saturn's stay in Aquarius. This epoch will see the separation of the husk from the grain. Saturn's entry into Pisces will bring consolidation and changes for the better. This will happen in 1994. In the 21st century, under the 44th president an awful crisis will hit the USA, and the American empire will start to fall apart.

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